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# THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY



## RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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Project on Linguistic Analysis  
Report No. 4

TRANSLATIONS OF WORKS ON CHINESE GRAMMAR

The Phonemes of the Peiping Dialect

Adjectivals and Adverbials

Ba Sentences and Bei Sentences

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## GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT ON LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

The central objective of this group is to uncover and formalize some of the underlying properties of natural language. While our attention is primarily focused on Mandarin Chinese and American English, the results we achieve from studying these two languages will be of value toward the construction of a general theory of language. These results will mostly take the form of assertions regarding the structure of the object language under study (rules in the grammar) and statements regarding the structure of the metalanguage used to make these assertions (rules in the theory of language). Clearly these two types of results are mutually dependent. An example of a set of grammar rules is the paper on Mandarin syntax. An example of a set of metalinguistic statements is Fillmore's paper on "traffic rules" in a grammar. Both of these papers are in POLA No. 3.

A complete grammar of a language will contain a set of rules which will generate all and only the sentences of the language with their corresponding structural descriptions. This is an ideal toward which we strive in our analysis of Mandarin and English. In the process of grammar construction, we aim to formulate rules that are precise enough to be programable onto a computer. Such precision is necessary for making explicit the metalinguistic assumptions which underlie the grammar and for the latter to be evaluable for overall economy and consistency. When properly formulated, these rules should correctly describe such notions as grammatical ambiguity and relationship among sentences.

For the construction of a comprehensive theory of language that can explicate the ability to use language, i.e., to analyze, produce, understand and paraphrase sentences, extensive knowledge in the area of semantic analysis is needed to support the grammatical knowledge. In order to effectively understand our ability to translate between languages, further transfer rules would need to be developed in terms of which relations can be established among the grammatic-semantic structures of different languages. We feel that any successful

simulation of linguistic processes, such as sentence recognition and translation, will ultimately need to be based on such a comprehensive theory of language.

The kind of research that we have been pursuing will provide a grammatical basis toward the construction of such a theory. Although we have not yet actively extended our work into semantic analysis and transfer rules, our present research will lead into it in a natural way at the appropriate stage in its development. At that time, the close association that has been maintained between the development of the two grammars will prove to be especially valuable in discovering the transfer rules.

A part of our overall effort has been directed to the improvement of communication and cooperation between ourselves and other groups working on related problems. There exists a healthy situation in the case of people working on English grammar and linguistic theory from a rigorous point of view, and interchange of information is free and effective.

The picture is very different with work in Chinese grammar. While there is massive and vigorous activity on Chinese grammar and linguistic theory in the Communist countries, especially in China, a disproportionately small amount of this work is available in this country. In addition to the political barriers which cause delays and miscarriages in the mail, among other inconveniences, there is an equally serious obstacle even with the available materials. This is the problem of understanding each other's work through the maze of different linguistic frameworks and terminologies. Here the mutual intelligibility of the various dialects of Linguistics is very low. Nevertheless, we feel that we can learn much from the activities abroad which, at least in the area of Chinese grammar, exist on a much grander scale than in this country.

To create better channels of technical communication, we have compiled a bibliography with glossary, POLA No. 5. Some of the translations we have made from Chinese and Japanese into English appear in POLA No. 4. POLA No. 6 contains tables and algorithms for converting among the various systems of Mandarin transcription.

We are also issuing a book in Chinese, entitled Biànhuànlǚ Yǔfǎ Lǐlùn, which contains the theoretical framework of our research. This book is in large part based on Chomsky's well-known Syntactic Structures.

On the next page is a list of technical reports which have been or will be sent out shortly. The purpose of distributing these reports is twofold. One is that it gives us a quick method of making known our results to a restricted audience without the necessary delay which goes with journal publication. These reports also permit the distribution of materials which are not suitable for inclusion in a journal article, such as large amounts of data. The other purpose is that we will be enabled to receive comments and criticisms on our work, and perhaps incorporate these therein, before submitting some of the results for publication in open literature.

W. S-Y. Wang  
March 22, 1963

- POLA No. 1: C. J. Fillmore, Indirect object constructions in English and the ordering of transformations; 49pp, February 1962.
- POLA No. 2: W. S-Y. Wang, Synchronic studies in Mandarin grammar: a selected bibliography; 15pp, February 1962.
- POLA No. 3: C. J. Fillmore, The position of embedding transformations in a grammar;\* W. S-Y. Wang, Some syntactic rules in Mandarin;\*\* L. F. Meyers and W. S-Y. Wang, Tree representations in linguistics; 113pp., May 1963.
- POLA No. 4: Translations of works on Chinese grammar: The phonemes of the Peiping dialect; Adjectivals and adverbials; Ba sentences and bci sentences; 104pp, May 1963.
- POLA No. 5: W. S-Y. Wang and L. Liu, Bibliography and glossary for Chinese grammar.
- POLA No. 6: W. S-Y. Wang, Mandarin phonology; R. Brotzman, Vowel formant values; K. P. Li, Tone perception experiment with appended test materials; Inventory of Mandarin syllables; Syllable inventory according to the Pinyin alphabet; Conversion table for different transcriptions; Conversion algorithms among different transcriptions.
- POLA No. 7: E. Ching, Four syllable phrases in Chinese; S. Annear and L. Liu, A fragment of Mandarin grammar: Ba and bei; A. T. Tsai, Resultative verb in Mandarin; C. J. Fillmore, Complement structures in English.

\*to appear in the journal Word.

\*\*to appear in the Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists.

## FOREWORD

Following are translations of three works on Chinese grammar. The first is The Phonemes of the Peiping Dialect, by Tōdō, Akiyasu, translated from the Japanese collection 中國語學事典 (Encyclopedia of Chinese Grammar), Tokyo: Giangnan Shuyan, 1958. The other two--Adjectivals and Adverbials by Zhū, dé-xi and Ba Sentences and Bei Sentences by Wáng, Huán--are taken from the series entitled 漢語知識講義 (Lectures on the Chinese Language), compiled and edited by Xīnzhīshí Chūbǎnshè.

It was felt that students of Chinese Linguistics would be interested in the objectives of the Xīnzhīshí series since it is the largest collective effort of a group of leading linguists in the People's Republic of China. To give an indication of their scope of activity we have translated the Preface which appears at the beginning of each of the twenty odd volumes. The translations of two of these volumes appear in this report.

### Preface to Lectures on the Chinese Language

In order to complement the high school text Hanyu we have edited a collection of books, entitled Lectures on the Chinese Language. This collection includes the following six sets: (1) Introduction, (2) Phonology, (3) Orthography, (4) Lexicon, (5) Grammar, and (6) Diction. It is intended to serve as a reference to high school teachers of Chinese and as reading materials for students of language and literature. We hope that it can perform a supplementary function in the teaching and learning of Chinese language and literature. This set on Grammar is edited by Mr. Xiǎo, Fù. We want to express our thanks to Mr. Xiǎo and the Chinese Language Editor's Office of the People's Educational Publishing House for discussing and selecting the problems and inviting the various grammarians to author and edit these works. It is due to the kind help of the authors, the proof-readers and the various grammarians, that these volumes on Grammar were able to smoothly go through the press.

The set on Grammar is divided into three sections, to correspond respectively to volumes 3, 4, and 5 of Hanyu. The titles are as listed below:

第一輯

詞類

名詞,動詞,形容詞

處所,時間和方位

能愿動詞,趋向動詞,判斷詞

數詞和量詞

代詞

副詞,介詞,連詞

助詞和嘆詞

王力著

俞敏著

文鍊著

洪心衡著

胡附著

林祥楮著

郭翼舟著

孫德宣著

第二輯

句子

主語和謂語

賓語和補語

定語和狀語

複雜謂語

"把"字句和"被"字句

複說和插說

簡略句,無主句,獨詞句

殷煥先著

任銘善著

玄常著

朱德熙著

呂冀平著

王還著

蕭斧著

郭中平著

第三輯

聯合詞組和聯合複句

偏正複句

緊縮句

長句分析

陳述句,疑問句,祈使句,感嘆句

語法上的一般規律和特殊習慣

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The tentative grammatical framework on which the Hanyu text books are based has already received the support of a large number of workers in the field of grammar. But there probably are differences between individual scholars with respect to particular problems. Therefore, we wish to make clear the following two points: (1) The author of each volume strived to conform with the framework of the Hanyu textbooks. Therefore, the content within each volume may not completely represent the point of view of its author. In making reference to an individual author, generally he should be represented by his other works. (2) The author may have preserved his own viewpoint to a certain degree with respect to particular problems. If such discrepancies are encountered during teaching, the approach taken in the textbook and the reference book should be used.

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# THE PHONEMES OF THE PEIPING DIALECT

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## 1.0 Phonemics and its terminology

### 1.1 What are phonemes?

The study which accurately describes the speech sounds that can be actually spoken, after they are investigated in detail, is called phonetics. On the other hand, the study which systematizes the phonetic observations and which explains what are the minimal phonetic elements that may serve to distinguish meanings of words in the language is called phonemics. The elements of speech sounds extracted in this manner are called phonemes and they are distinguished from phones. They are differentiated by the use of different brackets, e.g., /t/ is used to represent the phoneme 't' and [t] is used to indicate the phone 't'.

The phonemes of the Peiping dialect are:

Vowels     /a/, /ə/, /I/

Semivowels     /j/, /w/, /r/

Consonants     /b/, /p/, /f/, /m/ ..... labial sounds

                 /d/, /t/, /l/, /n/ ..... apical sounds

                 /z/, /c/, /s/ ..... dental sounds

                 /zr/, /cr/, /sr/ ..... retroflex sounds

                 /zj/, /cj/, /sj/ ..... palatal sounds

                 /g/, /k/, /h/ ..... velar sounds

                 /·/ ..... glottal sound

In addition, /zr/ (phonetic letter 'ㄗ'), /zj/ (phonetic letter 'ㄗ') etc., are compound phonemes.

Phonemics investigates the system of the speech sounds of a language and clarifies the intricate parts of its system; it is therefore a prerequisite to the task of establishing phonetic letters. In choosing the letters, since one should consider customary usage as well as practical and pedagogical convenience, it is not advisable to take phonetic symbols directly and allow them to serve as the romanized spelling. Next, since phonemics clarifies the sound system of a language as a whole and the minimal phonetic distinctions needed for carrying out the function of communication, it is also a powerful aid in the learning of a foreign language. One of the reasons that the learning of a foreign language is difficult is that one is not familiar with the sound system of a language that has a different sound system from that of one's own. It may be, therefore, extremely profitable to understand the sound system of the Peiping

Dialect and to master the important phonetic distinctions before proceeding with the study of the language itself.

## 1.2 Initials and finals

In order to describe the Peiping Dialect in terms of phonemics, one must first arrange its speech sounds and then interpret them. Here we will attempt to show the basic method of arranging the speech sounds. If we listen to a series of Mandarin sounds such as "搭他捺拉", we notice that only the initial parts of individual sounds are different from one another, and the final parts are the same. The same can be said regarding "單, 難, 蘭", etc., (disregarding tone). If we arrange such a series, the following chart may be made.

A	搭他捺拉	要卡哈	雞機掄	已爬奶答
B	單難難蘭	干利西	雞大正	班潘蛋香
C	燈膝能校	庚杭亨	習層憎	網朋蒙鳳
D	(the rest is omitted)			

If this chart is read horizontally, we notice that the final parts are the same and the initial parts are different; if we read it vertically, the initial parts are the same and the final parts are different. In any case, the speech sounds in each column can be divided into the initial and the final elements. The former is called the "initial" and the latter the "final", and the combination of the two is called a "syllable." In other words, syllable = initial + final.

## 1.3 Parallel series

The "搭" of row A in the above chart must be distinguished from "他, 捺, 拉, ...", no matter who pronounces it; otherwise, it will bring about a confusion in the speech sounds. Then, in what respects is the initial of "搭" distinguished from those of "他, ..."?

- It cannot be pronounced with the lips or the back of the tongue.
- It is pronounced with the tip of the tongue, but it is a plosive, not an affricate like [ts].
- It is not a lateral like "l", nor is it a nasal like "n".
- Finally, it is not aspirated like "t'"; it is unaspirated.

The initial of "單" of row B is also differentiated from those of "難, 蘭, ..." by the same four features of ABCD. The same can be said for row C

of the above chart.

Furthermore, the ways in which "他, 漢, 藤, ..." and "搭, 難, 能, ...", are distinguished from each of the other columns are the same. In such a case, we call a series such as ABC a parallel series. The way to discover the phonemes of a language is to organize the speech sounds of the language and arrange them in such a way as to form parallel series. A book of phonology of the old days was nothing more than a display of parallel series.

## 2.0 The initials in the Peiping Dialect

### 2.1 Aspirated sounds and unaspirated sounds

In the parallel series described above, we may consider the initials of "搭, 單, 單, ..." to be the same. That is because the ways in which these are distinguished from those of other columns are exactly the same. Suppose we symbolize them as {t}. And since the initials of "他, 漢, 藤, ..." are also the same, we will symbolize them as {t'}. If we express the initials by using the symbols by which "他...搭..." can be easily distinguished from one another, and if we classify them according to the place and manner of articulation, the following chart may be constructed.

	unaspirated	aspirated	laterals fricatives	nasals
Labials	{p}	{p'}	{f}	{m}
Linguals	{t}	{t'}	{l}	{n}
Dentals	{c}	{c'}	{s}	
Velars	{k}	{k'}	{h}	

What we call "linguals" and "dentals" here are traditional Chinese terms; the former are generally called "apical plosives" and the latter "apical plosives or fricatives".

Now that we have the basic symbols, we will attempt to interpret them.

First,

{p} (巴) : {p'} (爬)  
 {t} (搭) : {t'} (他)  
 {c} (雜) : {c'} (擦)  
 {k} (卡) : {k'} (卡)

in the above group, each pair consists of an unaspirated and an aspirated sound. The place of articulation is the same for both, but there are the following differences:

- <Aspirated sounds>      There is a strong closure at the point of articulation, but the glottis is open, and when the closure is released, the breath flows out.
- <Unaspirated sounds>      There is a relatively weak closure at the point of articulation, but the glottis is tense and closed. When the closure is released, the voice flows out from the glottis.

In other words, the aspirated sound breaks the closure with the breath, and the unaspirated sound breaks the closure with the voice. Those that break the closure with the voice are the voiced sounds like b, d, g, and those that break the closure without being accompanied by the voice are the so-called unvoiced sounds like p, t, k. Furthermore, the voiced sounds usually have a weak or lenis closure, and the unvoiced sounds usually have a strong or fortis closure. In order to symbolize distinctly in the simplest way the differences between the unaspirated and the aspirated sounds of the Peiping Dialect, it is convenient to represent them in the following way:

- <Unaspirated sounds>      /b/ /d/ /z/ /g/ ?
- <Aspirated sounds>      /p/ /t/ /c/ /k/ /h/

## 2.2 /h/ and /./.

One of the important characteristics of the unaspirated sounds of the Peiping Dialect is that the glottis is tense and closed in the beginning; as soon as the closure of the oral cavity is released, the glottis also opens and produces voice. That is, it may be considered as being accompanied by a slight glottal plosion. The initial /h/ of "哈, 哈, 亨, ..." is included in the series of aspirated sounds. /h/ may be regarded as having the same quality as that of the breath portion which accompanies the aspirated sounds like /p, t, k/. Then could the sound which has the same quality as that of the glottal plosion which accompanies the unaspirated sounds like /b, d, g/ occur as an initial?

The sound that is representative of the glottal plosive sound is the plosive sound that is produced at the throat when hacking, but in the beginning of the syllable of "阿, 安, 恩, 愛, 歐" of the Peiping Dialect, a light glottal plosion similar to that described above can be heard. And also "大, 安", "可愛", "西歐", etc., may be divided as in /da.an/, /ka.aj/, /sji.ew/, because the glottal closure occurs between them. If we represent this sound with /./,

the syllables that are generally believed to begin with vowels may be interpreted as having /./ as their initials. Thus the foregoing chart will become as follows:

<Unaspirated sounds>    /b/ /d/ /z/ /g/ /./

<Aspirated sounds>    /p/ /t/ /c/ /k/ /h/

### 2.3 The retroflex sound and the palatal sound

However, the initials of the Peiping Dialect are not limited to the ones illustrated above. Let us examine the following parallel series.

A	和 叉 沙 〇	家 恰 蝦 鴉
B	占 搖 山 然	間 牽 先 煙
C	蒸 樟 生 仍	京 清 興 英
D	張 昌 商 讓	江 腔 香 央

Of these, we will assume that the initials of "和, 占, 蒸, 張" are the same and symbolize them as {z}, and that the initials of "家, 間, 京, 江" are the same and these we will symbolize as {j}. And if we represent each of these in turn with a simple symbol, the following initials may be extracted. The first group consists of the retroflex sounds produced by placing the apex of the tongue at the back of the upper front teeth, and the other group consists of the palatal sounds produced by flattening the tongue surface and placing it against the roof of the mouth.

<Retroflex sounds>    {z} {c} {s} {r}

<Palatal sounds>    {j} {ç} {š} {j}

### 2.4 The interpretation of the retroflex sounds

Now let us compare the retroflex sounds with the dental initials, /z, c, s/

<Initial sounds>    /z/ /c/ /s/

<Retroflex sounds>    {z} {c} {s} {r}

Both are apical sounds and affricate or fricative sounds, and they are pronounced alike, except that the latter have a characteristic feature called "retroflexion" which the former lack. Then, if we represent the feature of retroflexion with a symbol, namely, /r/, we will have /z+/r/ → {z}, /c+/r/ → {c}, /s+/r/ → {s}. And since the initial of "和" may be considered as /r/ before which the retroflex fricative /r/ is added, it will be represented as /rr/.

<Retroflex sounds>    /zr/, /cr/, /sr/, /rr/



## 2.5 The interpretation of the palatal sounds

If we look at the following chart, we notice that the palatal  $\{z\}$  group occurs only with finals which are distinct from those occurring with the velar  $/g/$  group and the dental  $/z/$  group.

	l	n	g	k	h	z	c	s	z	c	s	j
A . an	蘭	難	干	刊	斷	簪	參	三	/	/	/	/
B . jan	連	年	/	/	/	/	/	/	間	牽	先	煙
A . aŋ	浪	囊	岡	康	杭	藏	倉	桑	/	/	/	/
B . jaŋ	良	娘	/	/	/	/	/	/	江	腔	香	央

In other words,  $/l/$  and  $/n/$  occur with both A and B as in  $/lan/$ ,  $/ljan/$ ,  $/nan/$ ,  $/njan/$ , but the  $/z/$  group occurs only with  $/-an/$  and  $/-aŋ/$  (the plain finals); thus there is no such syllable as "zjan". And  $/g/$  group occurs only with  $/-an/$  and  $/-aŋ/$ ; hence, there is no "gjan". One can hear a fairly clear "j" sound in "江" of the Peiping Dialect; it is quite different in quality from the Japanese "otōchan". Thus in the Peiping Dialect the  $\{z\}$  group appears only with those finals like  $/-jan/$  and  $/-jaŋ/$  (the palatal finals) which contain  $/j/$ .

Thus, when the  $/g/$  and  $/z/$  groups appear only with plain finals, and the  $\{z\}$  group only with palatal finals, and when their distributional patterns are different from one another, we say that the  $/g/$  and  $/z/$  groups are in complementary distribution with the  $\{z\}$  group. Where there is complementary distribution, we may interpret the two groups as the variants of the same sound element. The variation in this case may be interpreted as the result of the addition of  $/j/$ . Hence, the following explanation may be given to this phenomenon.

- (1)  $/g/+j/ \rightarrow \{z\}$        $/k/+j/ \rightarrow \{c\}$        $/h/+j/ \rightarrow \{s\}$   
 (2)  $/z/+j/ \rightarrow \{z\}$        $/c/+j/ \rightarrow \{c\}$        $/s/+j/ \rightarrow \{s\}$

In short, the following two kinds of symbolizations are possible for the palatal sounds.

- (1)  $/gj/$      $/kj/$      $/hj/$      $/j/$   
 (2)  $/zj/$      $/cj/$      $/sj/$      $/j/$

In order to determine which of the above two interpretations is more suitable, let us survey the entire system of the Peiping Dialect. For instance, if we extract the initials of the following syllables,

- A 自 - 次 - 私  
 B 走 - 答 - 邸 - 日

# c 記 - 氣 - 西 - 衣

we have the following:

A /z-c-s/

B /zr-cr-sr-rr/

C /zj-cj-sj-j/ or /gj-kj-hj-j/

When we examine this chart, we notice that we can form an organized system of these sounds by interpreting the case where the /z/ group combined with retroflexion as /zr/ and the case where the /z/ group combined with the palatal element as /zj/. These three groups are all fricatives; there are common characteristics among them; thus, it is fitting that we interpret the three as one class. On the other hand, if we interpret the palatal sound as the /gj/ type, we may not find any relationship among the three. Thus, the following interpretation of the retroflex and palatal sounds seems most appropriate.

<Dental sounds> /z, c, s/

<Retroflex sounds> /zr, cr, sr, rr/

<Palatal sounds> /zj, cj, sj, j/

## 2.6 The interpretation of the labial sounds

We notice in the following chart that in the lingual, dental, retroflex, and velar sounds, there are some cases where they join with rounded finals, and other cases where they join with unrounded finals. Since lip-rounding may be regarded as the same as the initial of "玩" or "灣", it will be symbolized as /w/. However, since the labial sounds have only one group, the distinction between rounded and unrounded does not apply.

	/d	l	z	s	zr	sr	g.../	/b	p	f	m/	
-an	單	蘭	簪	三	占	山	干...	}	班	潘	番	蠻
-wan	端	端	鑽	酸	專	栓	官...					
-a	德	勒	則	色	這	音	歌...	}	波	頗	偉	模
-wa	多	羅	作	索	桌	說	鍋...					

We can see from the above chart that in the case of /dan/ (單):/dwan/ (端), the presence or absence of /w/ serves to distinguish the words, but with the labial sounds, either /ban/ or /bwan/ will do. In other words, /w/ is a non-dinctive element in this case. By the same token, "p<sup>h</sup>j" can be either /mən/ or /mwən/, and "f<sup>h</sup>j" can be either /fən/ or /fwən/. There is a clear lip-

rounding in such words as "波, 頗, 似, 模", but this is only because they must be distinguished from such words as "悲, 陪, 非, 梅"; therefore, it does not matter whether the phonemic representation is /bə/ or /bwe/. The labial sounds of the Peiping Dialect are often accompanied by some lip-rounding as long as they are not restricted by the following finals, but this is nothing more than a phonetic fact.

## 2.7 The interpretation of the syllabic "兒".

Syllables having as their initials the retroflex sound /rr/ may be interpreted as 然 /rran/, 仍 /rrəj/, 讓 /rraj/, but "日", which has a narrow final, may be interpreted as /rri/ (for the final, see below). But in the Peiping Dialect, there is in addition to "日" a syllabic retroflex sound (syllabic r) as in "二, 耳, 而, 兒 (兒 in 兒子)". Since it sounds as though it is accompanied by a neutral vowel "ə", it is generally interpreted as /ər/. However, since the apex curls back sharply and thus the closure allows an opening, it is thought of as producing a vocalic sound; thus both the initial and the final can be interpreted as /r/, so that it can be considered as /rr/, a syllable which has absorbed a vowel nucleus I. If we observe this syllable, we notice that the degree of retroflexion remains the same from beginning to end. The final /-r/ is treated below.

## 2.8 Semivowels and medials

In words such as "連" and "年", during the transition from the initial /d/ or /t/ to the final there is a sound which is produced by flattening the surface of the tongue. This sound is very close to the vowel /i/, but since its quality is the same as that of the initial of "煙", we symbolize it as /j/. In the case of "連" and "年", it is not so clear as the above, but a linking /j/ can also be recognized there. In the case of 贊 /zjan/ and 先 /sjan/, the initial is already palatalized; therefore, an additional tongue movement for the flattening of the tongue does not occur, but as was described in 2.5, there is a linking /j/ between the initial and the final.

Next, in the case of "多" and "索", there occurs clearly a lip-rounding sound during the transition between the initial of /d/ or /s/ and the final /-ə/. This sound resembles the vowel [u], but since it can be considered as having the same quality as that of the initial of "窩", we symbolize it as /w/. In the case of "多" and "索", it is not very clear, but a linking /w/ can be

noticed.

In the linking sound produced during the transition from the initial to the final there are various differences of degree, but we may group them together and call them "medials". The medials are /j/ and /w/. The element /r/ in words such as 占/zran/ and 生/srərj/ is today nothing more than a retroflex component, but in older Chinese it was one of the medials. The three sounds, /j/, /w/, /r/ are the semivowels in the Peiping Dialect, and they can become "syllable finals" when placed at the end of the finals. Since the narrowing of the syllable finals /-j/ and /-w/ is not great, these are often heard as the vowels [-i] and [-u].

Examples:	<Medials>	<Syllable finals>
	/j/ 兒 /djan/	代 /daj/
	/w/ 端 /dwan/	刀 /daw/
	/r/	兒 /kər/

On further analysis we find that finals may be divided into three parts: "medial"+"peak(vowel nucleus or main vowel)"+"syllable final". 端 /dwan/ thus consists of an initial /d/, a medial /w/, a peak /a/, and a syllable final /n/.

## 2.9 Syllable

Following a suggestion of Saussure's, we may represent abstractly the degree of closure at the point of articulation by the numbers 0 - 7 and construct the following chart. 0 indicates a complete closure, 7 a wide opening.

0	/d, t, g, k, ., b, p, z, c, ʒr, cr, zj, cj/	plosives and affricates
1	/s, sr, sj, h, f/	fricatives
2	/n, m, ŋ/	nasals
3	/l/	lateral

---

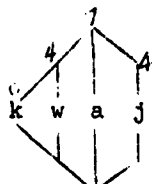
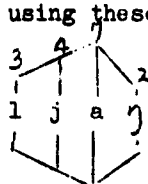
4	/j, w, r/	semivowels
---	-----------	------------

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5	/i, (u), etc./	narrow vowels
6	/e, (o), etc./	medium vowels
7	/a/	wide vowel

/j, w, r/ which are assigned a sonority grade of 4 fall in between the consonant group which are of grades 3 or under and the vowel group which are

of grades 5 or above. Now let us represent the Peiping word "凉快" [refreshing or cool] using these numbers.



When there are two such shapes we say there are two syllables and when there is one, we say there is one syllable.

A syllable, then, is a group of phonemes forming one such shape and having a vowel nucleus as its peak. A phoneme which comes between the initial and the peak is simply a semivowel which is wider than the initial consonant (below 3 degrees) and narrower than the peak vowel (above 5 degrees). In this way, some semivowels are medials.

## 2.10 Comparison of the chart of initials and medials with the First Revised Scheme of Romanization [拼音化方案修正第一式]

### <phonemic symbols>

/b p f m w /  
/d t l n /  
/z c s /  
/zr̂ cr̂ sr̂ r /  
/zĵ cĵ sĵ j /  
/g k h /  
/. /

### <First Revised Scheme of Romanization>

b p f m w  
d t l n  
z c s  
zh ch sh r  
gi ki hi j  
g k h

## 3.0 The finals in the Peiping Dialect

### 3.1 Preliminary arrangement

When we arranged the syllables of the Peiping Dialect in such a way as to construct a parallel series, the result was a chart similar to that in Section 1.2 above. Since we can extract a common final from each of the rows A, B, C, etc., in the chart, we may tentatively symbolize these as {-a}, {-an}, {-əŋ} etc. In such a manner, approximately 41 types of finals may be extracted. If we divide them into three large classes based on their vowel quality (wide-narrow), the following chart may be formed.

- (1) Wide finals {a, ja, wa, ai, wai, jai, aU, jaU, an, jɛn, wan, ɣan, aŋ, waŋ, jaŋ}
- (2) Medium finals {ɛ, ə, ɛ, ɔ, wɔ, je ye, ei, wei, wiɰ, ow, jow, jUw, en, un(uen), in(ien), yn(yen), əi, iŋ(iəŋ), wəŋ, uŋ, jUŋ}
- (3) Narrow finals {i(衣), y(衣), i(質), u(支)}

### 3.2 The interpretation of the wide finals

The [a] of [aŋ] (啊), [aɪ] (哀), etc., is backed; the [a] of [ja] (呀), [ai] (矮), etc., is fronted; there is a slight difference between the two, but in the Peiping Dialect, there do not exist such words as [la], [laŋ] that have to be distinguished from the words 拉 [la], 拉 [laŋ], etc., in meaning. By the same token, there are no words like [kai], [kan], etc., which differ in meaning from 开 [kai], 乾 [kan], etc. Consequently, from the phonemic standpoint there is no need to distinguish between [a] and [a]; therefore, we symbolize them both as /a/. The syllable final in [ai] may be interpreted as /-j/. When /-n/ occurs as the syllable final, the peak /a/ is somewhat fronted and thus is heard as [a]. This is nothing more than a phonetic phenomenon.

And there are no such words as [jan] and [yan] which are different in meaning from jɛn (年) and yɛn (彦). Therefore, from the phonemic standpoint, there is no need to recognize a phoneme /ɛ/; thus, these words may be phonemically interpreted as /jan/ and /yan/. It is possible to interpret the narrowing of the final in /jan/ as the influence of the medial /j/. Furthermore, the [y] that occurs as the medial of 遠, 宣, 全, etc., can be regarded as the combination of the palatalization feature of /j/ and the lip-rounding of /w/ and can therefore be symbolized as /jw/. Thus, 安 /an/, 完 /jan/, 玩 /wan/, 遠 /jwan/.

In the case of the syllable finals of 奧 and 畧, there occurs an [-U] which falls between [u] and [o], as in [-aU] and [-jaU], but since its distinctive feature is labialization, these can be interpreted as /aw/ and /jaw/. Thus, all the finals that contain a wide vowel may be classified as /a/.

### 3.3 The interpretation of the medium finals

In 歌, 科, 喏, etc., there is a final [-ɔ] similar to the vowel in the English [go]; in 德, 貝, 華, etc., there is a final [ə]. If we arrange these in a chart, we notice that there is complementary distribution between the two.

	g	k	h	.	d	t	l	z	c	s	zr	cr	sr
[-ɔ]	歌	科	喝	俄	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
[-ə]	/	/	/	/	德	特	勃	則	測	色	這	車	金
	<velar and glottal sounds>				<linguals, dentals, and retroflex sounds>								

Accordingly, we may group them together and write /ə/. The qualitative difference in the finals is no more than a phonetic phenomenon influenced by the initial. Similarly, we may interpret 爺 [je], 約 [ye], etc., as /jə/, /jwə/, etc.

Since there is labialization in 鋼 [kwo], 作 [tsuo], 說 [suo], etc., they contain the medial /w/. Furthermore, since in the Peiping Dialect there are no such words as [kwə] and [kwe] in addition to 鋼 [kwo], we may symbolize the finals of these words most economically as /-wə/. It is because of the medial /w/ that the vowel nucleus sounds like [o], and it may well be compared with 牙 /jə/ which sounds as if it contains the vowel nucleus [e] because of the medial /j/. Thus, we may transcribe the words as follows:

歌 /kə/ : 鋼 /kwə/  
 德 /də/ : 多 /dwə/  
 金 /srə/ : 說 /srwə/  
 勃 /lə/ : 羅 /lwə/ : 咯 /ljə/ : 略 /ljwə/

The finals of 給 [kei] and 鬼 [kwei] may be written as /-əj/ and /-wəj/. The vowel in this case is somewhat fronted because of the syllable final /-j/, and it is heard as [e]. Similarly the final in 回 [xwɨj], 嘴 [tswɨj], etc., is a special variant occurring in the presence of particular initials and tones, and it may be interpreted as /-wəj/.

The final [ow] of 欧, 物, 立, etc., may be interpreted as /əw/. In this instance, the vowel is rounded (labialized) because of the syllable final /-w/ and thus its auditory value is close to that of [o]. The final of 有, 油, 九, 朽, etc., takes the shape of [jow] [jUw] in various initial and tonal environments, but it may be interpreted that its vowel nucleus is the medium vowel /ə/. Hence, its final may be symbolized as /jəw/.

The final of 痕 [xən], 恩 [ən], etc., may be analyzed as /ən/. 昆 [kun] and 孫 [sun] generally have the vowel nucleus [u], but some people observe that it is accompanied by a short [ə] as in [kuən] and [suən]; therefore, in phonemics, there is nothing to prevent us from interpreting this as /-wən/.

imitating the National Phonetic Letters.\* We interpret the finals of 陰 [jin] and 新 [šin] and of 雲 [yn] and 均 [tsyn] as /-jən/ and /-jwən/ respectively, again in imitation of the National Phonetic Letters. When the final is heard as [i] or [y] this may be explained as follows: the medial /j/ and syllable final /-n/ have a tendency to palatalize and thus influence the /ə/ which occurs between the two. Hence, the finals of these words may be symbolized as follows: 恩 /ən/, 溫 /wən/, 陰 /jən/, 雲 /jwən/.

The final [-əŋ] of 恆, 登, 曾, etc., will be represented as /əŋ/. The final of 英, 崖, 哀, etc., is generally [iŋ], but we will interpret it as /jəŋ/, agreeing with the interpretation of the National Phonetic Letters. Finally, the final [Uŋ] of 東, 工, 宋, etc., contains the vowel [U] which is midway between [o] and [u]; it is closer to the medium vowel than to the narrow vowel. If we interpret it as /wəŋ/, following the examples of "有, 九", etc., then we will have 東 /dwəŋ/, 工 /gwəŋ/, etc.

g	k	h	d	t	l	n	z	c	s	z̄r	c̄r	s̄r	b	p	f	m
-əŋ	更	坑	恆	登	滕	稜	能	增	曾	僧	爭	稱	升	} 山 朋 風 蒙		
-wəŋ	工	空	哄	東	通	龍	弄	宗	從	宋	中	衝	○			

This agrees with the interpretation of the National Phonetic Letters, and /-əŋ/ (low vowel) and /-wəŋ/ (high vowel) become clearly contrasted as illustrated in the above chart.

Lastly, the final of 用, 窮, 雄, etc., is different from that of 雲, 均, and 角; the former is [jUŋ], the latter is [yn]. Since this vowel nucleus [U] may be interpreted as /wə/ as stated above, we may write 用 as /jwəŋ/, 窮 as /cjwəŋ/ and 雄 as /sjwəŋ/. This too coincides with the interpretation of the National Phonetic Letters.

Thus, all the finals which contain a medium vowel may be uniformly classified into the /ə/ group.

\*Translator's Note: National Phonetic Letters [zhùyīn zìmǔ] is a system of characters for what are here called initials and finals introduced by the Chinese Ministry of Education in 1919, for the purpose of indicating a standard pronunciation. See "Comparative Table of Pinyin, Yale, Wade-Giles, Zhuyin zimu and Guoyeu Romatzyh Systems" in POLA #6.



### 3.4 The interpretation of the narrow finals

The words 衣 [i], 矣 [tsɿ], 資 [tsɿ], etc., all have different finals. [-ɿ] is called a retroflex vowel; it is pronounced like the initial /r̥r̥/ of "日", except the friction is eliminated by a slight widening of the stricture. [-ɪ] is called an apical vowel; it is pronounced like [z̥] except that the friction is lost through a slight widening of the apical stricture. All three of the vowels [i], [ɿ], and [ɪ] have a narrower opening at the roof of the mouth than the medium vowels [ə], [o], etc.; therefore, they are classified as narrow vowels. Furthermore, the occurrence of these three vowels shows that they are in complementary distribution, as will be seen from the following examples:

[ɪ] appears with the apical sounds /z c s/, etc.,

[ɿ] appears with the retroflex sounds /z̥r̥ c̥r̥ s̥r̥r̥/, etc.,

[i] appears with the palatal sounds /z̥j c̥j s̥j j/, etc.;

therefore, we may put them together and symbolize them as /I/. The occurrence of these three variants may be regarded as the result of the influence of the phonetic quality of the initial or the medial. Thus, they are interpreted as follows:

自 /zI/, 次 /cI/, 私 /sI/

支 /zrI/, 答 /crI/, 師 /srI/, 日 /rrI/

己 /zjI/, 氣 /cjI/, 西 /sjI/, 衣 /jI/

Lastly, the final of 古, 蘇, 布, etc., is [u], but it is a narrow vowel, and furthermore, it is accompanied by a strong lip rounding; therefore, it may be interpreted as /wI/. The final is heard as [u] because of the influence of the medial /w/. The final [y] of 雨, 許, 區, etc., is also a narrow vowel, and moreover, combines the characteristics of palatalization and labialization; hence, it may be regarded as /jwI/. Thus, there are the four different finals containing /I/ as in 私 /sI/, 蘇 /swI/, 西 /sjI/, and 許 /sjwI/.

### 3.5 Comparison of the chart of the finals with the Scheme of Romanization

Summarizing the above, the main vowels of the Peiping Dialect may be reduced to three classes: /a/ (wide), /ə/ (medium), /I/ (narrow). The medials are /j/, /w/, and /jw/; we call those which have no medial "開口" (open), those which have the medial /j/ "齊齒" (spread), those with an accompanying /w/ "合口" (rounded), and those with /jw/ "撮口" (front rounded). There are five different types of syllable finals: /-zero/, /-j/, /-w/, /-n/, /-ŋ/.

	開	合	齊	撮
/a/	a	a 阿	wa 哇	ja 呀 /
	aj	aj 愛	waj 歪 (ja 崖)	/
	aw	aw 奧	/	jaw 要 /
	an	an 安	wan 碗	jan 煙 jwan 遠
	anj	anj 昂	wanj 汪	jan 羊 /
/ə/	ə	ə 俄	wə 窩	jə 耶
	əj	əj 黑	wəj 喂	/
	əw	əw 歐	/	jəw 尤
	ən	ən 恩	wən 溫	jən 陰 jwən 雲
	əj	əj 登	wəj 翁	jəj 英 jwəj 同
/I/	I	I 資	wI 吾	jI 衣 jwI 雨

It is clear that this phonemic analysis, which gives importance to the function of the medials, while reducing the vowel nuclei to the three types /a/, /ə/, and /I/, yields an extremely simple system. As a result, however, since it includes such practices as representing [u] as /wI/, which are not found in the National Romanization, there will probably be some problems with respect to orthography. The Latinxua\*\* system recognizes the six vowels: i, y, u, o, e, a.

### 3.6 The "r-suffixed" vowels

The r-suffixed vowels constitute a rather complex problem from the phonetic point of view, and accordingly their phonemic symbolization is also difficult. I propose, however, the following solution.

#### A. r-suffix after syllable final -zero

Examples: 哈 /ha/ --> /har/  
 色 /sə/ --> /sər/      -zero --> -r  
 字 /zI/ --> /zIr/

\*\*Translator's Note: Latinxua is a system of romanization devised by A. Dragunov for teaching the Chinese in Russia to read.

B. r-suffix after syllable final -j

Examples: 孩/haj/ --> /har/ -j --> -r  
黑/hej/ --> /hər/

C. r-suffix after syllable final -n

Examples: 乾/gan/ --> /gar/ -n --> -r  
根/gən/ --> /gər/

D. r-suffix after syllable final -w

Examples: 好/haw/ --> /hawr/ -w --> -wr  
豆/dəw/ --> /dəwr/

E. r-suffix after syllable final -ŋ

当/dəŋ/ --> /dəŋr/ -ŋ --> -ŋr  
况/kwəŋ/ --> /kwəŋr/

These rules are based on the following justification: in the Peiping Dialect /-n/ and /-j/ have the characteristic of causing the tongue surface to become flat and to approach the front of the mouth while /-r/ causes the tip of the tongue to be retroflexed and the surface of the tongue to become concave. These two are not compatible. Hence, when /-j/ and /-n/ have the r-suffix attached, the original endings disappear. But since /-ŋ/ and /-w/ do not have properties incompatible with /-r/, they may be combined with /-r/ to form /-ŋr/ and /-wr/. For example, since in the change from 当 [taŋ] to 当 r [tār], there remains a nasal element, and in the change from 好 [xau] to 好 r [xawr], a lip rounding remains, it is possible to interpret these words phonemically as 当 r /dəŋr/ and 好 r /hawr/.

Thus, if we symbolize phonemically the r-suffixed forms with reference to the above master chart of the finals, the following chart may be constructed:

/a/	{	开	合	暗	撮
		/a/ ar	war	jar	jwar
		/aj/ ar	war	(jar)	/
		/aw/ awr	/	jawr	/
		/an/ ar	war	jar	jawr
		/a / a r	wa r	ja r	/

/ə/	/ə/	ər	wər	jər	jwər
	/əj/	ər	wər	/	/
	/əw/	əwr	/	jəwr	/
	/ən/	ər	wər	jər	jwər
	/əŋ/	əŋr	wəŋr	jəŋr	jwəŋr
/I/	/I/	Ir	wIr	jIr	jwIr

#### 4.0 Tones

The above has been an explanation of the separate sounds which make up syllables, but the Peking Dialect also has tones, which overlie and characterize syllables as a whole. For example, in /máw/ (tone 2) and /mǎw/ (tone 4), the constituents of the syllables are the same, but the differences in tone allow them to be used as separate words. It is for this reason that tone must be dealt with in phonemics.

The tones which are usually abstracted from observations of the Peking Dialect are the following four types:

tone 1	high, level
tone 2	high, rising
tone 3	low, slightly rising
tone 4	high, falling

In traditional terminology these are called 1 陰平, 2 陽平, 3 上聲, 4 去聲. If we were to interpret these four tones in phonemic terms, we see that since tone 2 (rising) and tone 4 (falling) are in contrast, and since tone 1 (high, level) is opposed to tone 3, the distinctive characteristic of tone 3 is "low, level"; the usual slight rise of the end may be thought of as a phonetic phenomenon involving a return to the average height. The phenomena of sandhi are not treated in phonemics.

In addition to the four tones there is also a neutral tone. For example, while the /zi/ of 老子 (the name of the book, the name of the man) has tone 3, the /zi/ 子 of 老子 ("old man") is neutral, its level being near that of the average level of the speaking voice. The neutral tone appears frequently in syllables representing affixes and conjunctions, etc., and in the rhythm of speech it constitutes 1 mora, that is one of the units corresponding to one syllable. It also serves to mark endings and junctures between a syllable and preceding and following syllables. This is true, for example, of the /də/ 的 of

他的東西。

## ADJECTIVALS AND ADVERBIALS

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## 1.0 Introduction

### 1.1 The distinction between adjectivals and adverbials.

Adjectivals and adverbials are both modificational structures. They combine with head words to form subordinate constructions. The distinction between adjectivals and adverbials can be seen either from the modified head words or from the adjectivals and adverbials themselves. Seen from the head words, we ask: "What structures are modified by the adjectivals? What structures are modified by the adverbials?" Seen from the adjectivals and adverbials themselves, we ask "What word classes can function as adjectivals? What classes can function as adverbials?"

In the high school text Hanyu, it is stated that "Adjectivals are accompanying structures which occur before nouns" (cf. 5.132); "nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and measures are adjectivals if they can occur before nouns in answer to such questions as sheide, shenme yang de and duoshao" (cf. 5.16). The two statements tell us: (1) Head words modified by adjectivals are nouns, (2) Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, measures, etc., can function as adjectivals. The same book also stated that "Adverbials are accompanying structures which occur before verbs or adjectives in a sentence" (cf. 5.136). "Adjectives, adverbs or place words or time words are adverbials if they occur before verbs or adjectives in answer to such questions as zenme and duome." (cf. 5.17). This is to say: (1) Adverbials modify verbs or adjectives, (2) Adjectives, adverbs, time words and place words can function as adverbials.

In certain subordinate constructions, we can determine whether a particular structure is an adjectival or adverbial on the basis of the part of speech of the head word. For example, in zhenshi, the head word shi is a noun, in zhenhao, the head word is an adjective. Therefore, the former zhen is an adjectival, the latter zhen is an adverbial. Sometimes it is not possible to determine the syntactic category of the modificational structure by just examining the head word. For example, in wode xiao bian jianjian shaole (ju 15), although xiao is a verb, we cannot say wode is an adverbial. Of course, we can say the verb xiao has been nominalized and has taken on the properties of a noun, and therefore the preceding modificational structure is not an adverbial but an adjectival. Actually, this type of explanation misrepresents the cause and effect relationship. The reason we are able to determine that xiao has been nominalized is precisely because the preceding modificational structure

is an adjectival and not an adverbial. From this it can be seen that in certain subordinate constructions it is possible to determine whether a modificational structure is an adjectival or an adverbial by examining the structure itself. For example, a possessive modificational structure composed of a noun or a pronoun must be an adjectival; a modificational structure composed of an adverb must be an adverbial.

In the text, the explanations on adjectivals and adverbials are rather brief and do not cover all situations. Actually, adjectivals modify not only nouns, adverbials modify not only verbs and adjectives, and more word classes can function as adjectivals and adverbials than are indicated in the text.

In subordinate constructions, sometimes the modificational structure occurs directly before the head word, sometimes it has to precede "的" or "地". "的" and "地" are both pronounced [de], their phonetic values being the same. In orthography, we make the following distinction: after adjectivals we write "的", after adverbials we write "地". But in general use, this practice is not always followed. After adjectivals everyone writes "的", after adverbials some people write "地", some people write "的". In this book these two characters are kept strictly distinct. But in the example sentences, we reproduce the characters as they appeared in the source.

## 1.2 The nomenclature of adjectivals and adverbials.

In his 新著國語文法 Li Jin Xi called modificational structures "additives". Additives are divided into "adjective additives" and "adverb additives".<sup>1</sup> The former corresponds to adjectivals. The latter corresponds to adverbials. Furthermore, Mr. Li established the term "position" for the nouns and pronouns in the sentence (the two classes are called "substantives" in 新著國語文法). When nouns or pronouns function as adjective additives, they are said to be "in major position" [在主要位置]. When they function as adverb additives, they are "in minor position" [在副位]. In other words, modificational structures composed of nouns or pronouns have two sets of parallel terminology. They can be called additives (adjective or adverb). They also can be called "in X position", where X is either major or minor.

In 中國文法要略, Lu Shu Xiang adopted the "three rank analysis" [三品說] of the Danish linguist Jespersen. He divided all words in the

sentence into primary, secondary and tertiary ranks according to the position they occupy in the sentence. Words which occupy an adjectival position are of secondary rank. Words which occupy an adverbial position are of tertiary rank.<sup>2</sup> In his book, adjectivals are called additives [加詞], adverbials are called tertiary rank additives [兩級加詞].<sup>3</sup>

The "3 rank analysis" was also used in Wang Li's 中國現代語法. His so-called "首品", "次品" and "末品" correspond respectively to primary rank, secondary rank and tertiary rank in 中國文法要略. Wang Li called adjectivals "additives" [加語], but did not give a special term to adverbials.

In the "Talks on Grammar" [語法講話]<sup>4</sup> of the Grammar Group of the Institute of Linguistic Research, Academia Sinica, modificational structures are called "modifiers" [修飾語]. These are divided into: (1) modifiers of nouns, (2) modifiers of verbs, and (3) modifiers of adjectives. (1) corresponds to adjectivals. (2) and (3) combined correspond to adverbials.

In the text Hanyu [漢語], modificational structures are divided into adjectivals and adverbials. Its treatment is quite similar to that in 新著國語文法 and 語法講話. But the terminologies used in the latter two books are defective. The term "adverb additive" in 新著國語文法 suggests "additive which modifies adverb" but actually denotes "adverb-like additive". In the original book, "形容的附加語" is used parallelly with "副詞的附加語". "形容" may be used to denote "形容詞". But from the appearance of the term, it seems to be parallel with "possessive additives" [領屬性附加語] and "same-gender additive" [同一性附加語]. This can be easily misinterpreted to refer to subdivisions within the adjectival. The terminology in 語法講話 is, first of all, not precise. For example, "名詞的修飾語" can be interpreted to mean "the modifier preceding the noun" [名詞前邊的修飾語], or "the modifier composed of nouns" [由名詞充任的修飾語]. (cf. "副詞的附加語" in 新著國語文法). More importantly, "名詞的修飾語", "動詞的修飾語" and "形容詞的修飾語" are syntactic categories determined on the basis of the part of speech of the head word. But the head word may be of a part of speech other than noun, verb or adjective. Consequently, this approach cannot account for all the modificational structures. Furthermore, the parallelism between adjectival [名詞的修飾語]



and adverbial [動詞的修飾語 and 形容詞的修飾語] is not apparent from their terminology.

The two terms, adjectival and adverbial, are free from the defects just mentioned. They have the great advantage of being simple and short. Also, they seem to be compatible with the terms for the other categories, subject [主語], predicate [謂語], object [賓語], and complement [補語].

## 2.0 Adjectivals

### 2.1 What do adjectivals modify?

Most commonly, adjectivals modify nouns, e.g., "白馬, 漂亮衣服, 木頭房子, 今天的報, 我哥哥, 一首詩, 吃的東西, 美麗的北京". Numerals and measures also can be modified by adjectivals, e.g.,

"兩個十(是二十), 那兩本, 最大的一個."

Verbs and adjectives are modified by adverbials. But if they are nominalized, they take on the properties of nouns. Then the preceding modificational structure is no longer an adverbial, but an adjectival. (cf. 1.0 "The distinction between adjectivals and adverbials")<sup>5</sup>, e.g.:

我的笑便漸漸少了 (朱15)

我的心隨潭水的綠而搖蕩 (朱140)

街上的冷靜使她的聲音顯得特別的清亮 (駱76)

夢見春的到來，夢見秋的到來。(魯 270)

Pronouns are an unusual class of words. According to grammatical function, they can be divided into two large groups. The function of one group is similar to that of nouns, e.g., personal pronouns "我, 你, 他, 我們, 你們, 他們, 自己, 人家, 大家", interrogative pronouns "誰, 什麼", etc. The other kind functions similarly as verbs and adjectives, e.g., "這麼(樣), 那麼(樣), 怎麼(樣)". The latter group can only be modified by adverbials, not by adjectivals. Pronouns of the former group generally do not become modified. But in the written style, occasionally they are modified by adjectivals. e.g.:

擺脫掉糾纏，還原了一個平平常常的我（朱30）

所有的自己全被忘卻了 (朱 30)

Such adjectivals generally are followed by the auxilliary [助詞]"の".

The situation with "量" is rather unusual. It frequently takes ad-  
jectivals (primarily numerals and measures),<sup>7</sup> and is not followed by "的" ,  
e.g.:

他說了些什麼？

你樂個什麼！

他把我什麼都拿走了。

Aside from single words, the following types of constructions can also take adjectivals.

2.1.1 When a "ㄅ" construction functions as a noun, it can take an adjectival, e.g.:

一個拉車的吞的是粗糧 冒出來的是血。(馬路 107)

你大概是個唱花旦的。(曹 233)

我叫幾個歲數相仿的您瞧瞧，(書 277)

(1943) *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 36: 1-10

(他必定是個)很奇怪的拉馬各馬它的。(馬各 25)

2.12 Constructions that are formed by conjoining nouns can take adjectivals, e.g.:

以後每天早上,中上,晚上,我常常看見阿河挈着水壺來往(朱14)  
吃的菜,肉,油,穿的棉衣,毛衣,鞋襪,住的窑洞,房屋...  
差不多一切都可以自己造。(毛 952).

Constructions that are formed by conjoining nominalized verbs or adjectives behave like conjoined noun constructions. They also take adjectivals, e.g.:

他的聰明和努力都足以使他的志願成為事實(駱 4)  
個人的委屈與困雖是公眾的話料。(駱 5)  
這裏寫趙姓母的唠叨和龍鍾,惟妙惟肖。(朱 367)

## 2.2 Nouns as adjectivals.

When nouns function as adjectivals, they may or may not use the auxiliary, "的", e.g.:

棉大衣	棉的大衣
木頭房子	木頭的房子
桌子腿兒	桌子的腿兒
中國歷史	中國的歷史
蘇聯人民	蘇聯的人民
教育部部長	教育部的部長

Generally speaking, when no "的" is used, the adjectival and the head word are more closely connected; they form a stable entity somewhat like a single word. When "的" is used, the connection between the adjectival and the head word is temporary. The meanings of the two units maintain a greater degree of independence.

The above is stated to cover the general situation. Actually, the "的" in some forms cannot be deleted, e.g., "水的密度, 書的內容, 車的速度, 人的壽命".

In some forms, the presence or absence of "的" makes for a meaning difference,

A

誰是蘇聯的朋友?

孩子的脾氣不好.

狐狸的尾巴很大

咖啡的味兒沒有茶好

B

我有幾個蘇聯朋友.

他這個人有點孩子脾氣.

敵人的狐狸尾巴露出來了.

這茶裡有股子咖啡味兒.

In the A forms, the adjectival expresses a possessive relation. It answers to questions of "誰的~?" or "什麼東西的~?".<sup>9</sup> In the B forms, the adjectival expresses certain qualities. It answers "什麼~?" or "什麼樣的~?".

Regarding the B forms, we should note the difference between their occurrence as independent sentences and their occurrence as a part of a larger sentence. For example, when "孩子脾氣" occurs independently, it can only express quality, not possessive relation. But when it occurs within a sentence, it can also express possessive relation, e.g., "(孩子脾氣=孩子的脾氣)"

### 2.3 Adjectives as adjectivals.

Generally, a monosyllabic adjective can directly modify nouns, e.g., "新書, 藍綢子, 短頭髮, 假古董, 酸蘋果." If it is desired to emphasize the quality expressed by the adjectival, the auxiliary "的" can also be used, e.g., "新的書, 藍的綢子", etc.

"的" is generally used when disyllabic adjectives modify nouns, e.g.,

玻璃上有精緻的花紋。

那時處處都是歌聲和淒厲的胡琴聲，圓潤的喉嚨確乎是少有的。(朱 132)

好像有個堅硬的東西在他腦中劃了一下。(馬 22)

烏黑的眼眶，猩紅的嘴唇。(魯 366)

Only those disyllabic adjectives which are frequently used in speech can directly modify nouns, e.g., "乾淨利落，老實人，要緊事，漂亮衣服", etc.

When the adjectival is composed of reduplicated adjectives or adjectives with auxiliary elements, it must take "的", e.g.:

你容我說吧，這本小小的書確已使我充實了。(朱 319)

彎彎的眉毛大大的眼，紅紅的嘴唇賽櫻桃。(民歌)

內中又有襲人，也還是個妥妥當當的孩子。(紅 254)

那漢奸的腦瓜打爛了，白花花腦漿漂在水面上。(袁 31)

李六子小小子先占了一間暖呼呼的房。(袁 31)

If the head word is preceded by a numeral or a measure, "的" can be deleted, e.g.:

小小一所房屋。(紅 29)

一面脫下衣裳扔開，露出黑不溜一身的瘡癤肉。(袁 11)

#### 2.4 Verbs as adjectivals.

When monosyllabic verbs are used as adjectivals, it must take "的", e.g.: "吃的東西，讀的書，說的話，看的人." If the "的" is deleted, the entire form is changed from a subordinate construction to a

verb-object construction.<sup>10</sup>

But sometimes disyllabic verbs can be used as adjectivals without taking the auxiliary "的", e.g.:

建築材料	執行情況	學習計劃	編輯人員
廣播節目	研究方法	參考材料	擴大會議

This phenomenon cannot be explained by the number of syllables in the verb because it was stated above that adjectivals composed of disyllabic adjectives generally use "的". (cf. 2.3 "Adjectives as adjectivals"). We feel that in these forms, the verbs have already been nominalized. They function as adjectivals from their noun status. Therefore, disyllabic verbs which generally do not nominalize do not function as direct adjectivals, e.g., "喜歡的東西, 盼望的事情, 打聽的消息." Before "法兒" no adjectival takes "的" whether it is composed of monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs, e.g. "(怎麼個) 寫法兒, (怎麼個) 打聽法兒".

## 2.5 Pronouns as adjectivals.

If the head word is a kinship term or if it refers to a social group or structure, personal pronoun adjectivals need not take "的", e.g. 我哥哥, 你叔叔, 你們小弟, 咱們家, 我們學校, 你們二年級. "我書, 你帽子" cannot be said independently without "的".

However, when they are contained in sentences, these forms can also exist (cf. 2.2 "Nouns as adjectivals"), e.g.:

他把我書拿走了。

你帽子呢？

這是我們敗政政策的基本方針。

If the head word is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, then it is more common to use the form without "的", e.g., "我這衣服, 他那幾本書".<sup>11</sup>

## 2.6 Numerals and measures as adjectivals.

When numerals and measures are used as adjectivals, "的" is not used. However, after measures which express length, capacity, and weight, and after measures composed of nouns, "的" may be used, e.g., "二十斤的大米, 兩箱子的書, 一手的泥"

The pronouns "這, 那, 哪" combine with measures to form direct adjectivals. But to express possessive relationship, "的" is needed, c.f.

這本書破了。

這本書的皮兒破了。

哪個孩子?

哪個的孩子?

"一樣" and "一般" are two rather unusual numeral-measures. Both of these words can be adjectivals. When "一樣" functions as an adjectival, the presence or absence of "的" makes for a difference in meaning, e.g.:

這和祖國是一樣的天, 一樣的地。(楊39)

吃飯的素菜, 要一樣涼涼的酸酸的東西。(紅60)

When "的" is present, it means "same"; the numeral is limited to "一".

When "的" is absent, it means "a kind of" or "a sort of"; the numeral is not limited to "一".<sup>12</sup>

When "一般" is used as an adjectival, its meaning is "general" or "most of". It may or may not take "的", e.g.:

文學家, 藝術家以及一般文藝工作者。(毛876)

政治并不等於藝術, 一般的宇宙觀也并不等於藝術  
創作和藝術批評的方法。(毛891)

Sometimes, the "一樣, 一般" adjectivals are preceded by nouns serving as adverbials, e.g.:

這是鐵一般的事實, 誰也否認不了的。(毛670)

那一邊，卻是一個生鐵一般的冷而且白的月亮。(魯 211)

滿腳底都是栗子一般的老茧。(魯 239)

Sometimes the nouns are preceded by "像, 跟, 和同" etc., e.g., "像清水一樣的酒, 跟我一樣的人".

## 2.7 Adjectivals with accompanying structures.

The adjectival constructions discussed in the preceding sections are all single words. Actually, the words which function as adjectivals are frequently preceded or followed by various accompanying structures. If the adjectival is composed of a noun, then it can be preceded by an adjectival. If it is composed of a verb, then it can be preceded by an adverbial and followed by an object or a complement. If it is composed of an adjective, it can be preceded by an adverbial and followed by a complement.

In the examples below, the noun which functions as an adjectival is accompanied by an adjectival: (The adjectival is marked by subscript wavy lines; its accompanying adjectival is marked by subscript dots).

我看見他戴着黑布小帽。(朱 161)

M太太是我的同事的女兒。(冰 127)

我這時心中只憧憬着梁山泊好漢的生活。(冰 189)

Generally speaking, if the adjectival does not express possessive relationship, then it may or may not take "的", e.g. "黑布小帽" or "黑布的小帽". Adjectivals which express possessive relationship frequently take "的", e.g., "我的同事的女兒".

In the following examples, the noun functioning as adjectival is preceded by numeral-measure:

遇見了一位同學的弟弟。

那時S已是三個孩子的母親。(冰 119)



The first sentence expresses possessive relationship; it commonly takes "的".

<sup>13</sup> The second sentence expresses not possessive relationship but certain qualities or special properties of the head word.<sup>14</sup> Forms of this type must take "的".

It has been stated above that monosyllabic adjectives and certain disyllabic adjectives can be used as direct adjectivals (c.f. 2.3 "Adjectives as adjectivals"). But if the adjective itself has an accompanying adverbial, it is generally necessary to use "的", e.g.:

他必能自己打上一輛車，頂漂亮的車。

春余夏始，是北京最好的日子。(朱 193)

那麼寬的肩膀。(駱 11)

Verbs cannot be directly used as adjectivals (cf. 2.4 "Verbs as adjectivals"). Even when accompanied by an adverbial, it still must take "的", e.g.:

新選的婦會主任秀女兒又能幹，又積極。(袁 45)

我們這兩個民族是一條藤上結的瓜，苦都苦，甜都甜。(楊 61)

Adjectivals composed of verbs or adjectives with accompanying complement also must take "的", e.g.:

到處都有燒塌了的房。(袁 107)

想不到碗裡是擀得細溜溜的面條。(袁 115)

這樣，他們就帶出跑得很用力的樣子。(駱 7)

就把兩個紅得很好看的圓筒兜，放在她枕頭邊。(袁 87)

When an adjectival is composed of a verb with accompanying object, except for a few habitual sayings such as "下雨天, 洗臉水, 退燒藥", it usually takes "的", e.g.:

你得學做人, 懂得做人的道理. (朱 15)

棠子和花仿佛<sup>在牛乳中洗過一樣</sup>; 又像籠着輕紗的夢. (朱 183)

In "藍布包袱", we say that the adjectival is composed of the noun "布" and "藍" is "布" 's accompanying structure (adjectival). But in "黃頭髮的孩子", the adjectival is composed of the entire word group (subordinate construction) "黃頭髮", not of the noun "頭髮". This is because we cannot say "頭髮的孩子". The following is a set of examples of adjectivals composed of word groups:

雨二個星期的工夫, 他把腰溜出來了.	(馬各 6)
只有五塊錢的本錢.	(馬各 102)
殺人的刀.	
改不掉的毛病.	

(subordinate construction)  
(subordinate construction)  
(verb-object construction)  
(verb-object construction).

## 2.8 "... 似的" as adjectivals.

The auxiliary "似的" is pronounced "shide".\* Therefore, some people write it as "是的". The auxiliary construction which results from attaching "似的" to the end of a noun can function as an adjectival, e.g.:

那是一個黑瘦的, 乞丐似的男子. (魯 253)

祥子又是那麼死磚頭似的一塊東西. (馬各 159)

魚鱗似的屋, 螺髻似的山, 白練似的江, 明鏡似的湖. (朱 31)

\*. Translator's notes: "似的" is pronounced "side" according to Hanyu Pinyin Cihui, but we have kept it as "shide" to conform with the author of this text.

## 2.9 Conjoined constructions and subject-predicate constructions as adjectivals.

When a conjoined construction is used as an adjectival, it must take "的". Sometimes the "的" occurs after the entire conjoined construction, e.g.:

他不能離開這個熱鬧可愛的地方。(馬各 134)

忽然聽到老者這番誠懇而帶有感情的話,他不好意思再爭論了。(馬各 28)

將中國拖回到痛苦重重的不獨立,不自由,不民主,不統一,不富強的老狀態裡去。(毛 1075)

Sometimes "的" is placed after each group in the conjoined construction, e.g.:

我於是曾好幾次爬到北固山的頂上去,俯瞰那颼颼的高風,看那低低的小小的,綠綠的田畝。(朱 187)

白鬚的,花鬚的,小白臉的,胖而流着油汗的,胖而不流油汗的官員們。(魯 241)

For adjectivals composed of subject-predicate constructions, "的" is required, e.g.:

聖陶談到他作小說的態度,常喜歡說:我只是如實地寫。(朱 349)

現在曉得他講道理的時候,不但唇邊還抹着人油,而且心裡還滿裝着吃人的意思。(魯 10)

## 2.10 Compounded adjectivals.

In some subordinate constructions, the adjectival is composed of two or more words. The relationship between these words is neither one of head word and accompanying structure, nor one of conjoined construction. Rather, the

words are individually added before the head word to modify it, e.g., in "小紅花兒", the head word "花兒" is first preceded by "紅" to indicate the color of the flower; it then adds on "小" to indicate its size. "小紅" has neither a subordinate relationship nor a conjoined relationship. This kind of adjectival is called compounded adjectival.

In "小紅花兒", the adjectivals "小" and "紅" are two single words. Sometimes, the word functioning as adjectival has accompanying structures. For example, in "學校門口新修的馬路", the first adjectival "門口" has an accompanying adjectival "學校". The second adjectival "修" has an adverbial "新". The following examples all have compounded adjectivals:

掏出(一盒)(大英牌)烟卷。(袁4)

(一張)(小小的)(圓)臉。(朱165)

欠過身去擱在(洗臉盆上)(最高的)(一層)格子上  
(魯137)

他喋喋不休地問他(不知多少)(難以回答的)(有趣的)  
(傻)話。(曹367)

穿(一身)(農村的)孩子過年過節才穿的(新)衣裳。(曹356)

#### 2.11 The order of adjectivals.

When an adjectival is composed of a conjoined construction, the order with which each group appears in the construction, generally speaking, is free, e.g.:

正中文香烟兒,圍着它橫着豎着擺着方的,圓的,立體的,  
圓錐的小凳和沙發。(曹170)

"方的,圓的,立體的,圓錐的" can be changed to "圓錐的,立體的,方的,圓的", or some other order. The change in order affects only the diction, but not the basic meaning or grammatical structure of the entire form.<sup>15</sup> For compounded adjectivals, frequently one cannot change the order. For example, for "小紅花兒" one cannot say "紅小兒花", for "一本新書" one cannot say "新一本書".

Therefore, in a subordinate construction composed of compounded adjectivals, one must note the order of the adjectivals.

Many types of structures can function as adjectivals. Also, the number of adjectivals that can be compounded to precede a head word, theoretically speaking, has no limit. Consequently, the order of adjectivals is a confusing and complicated problem. We will discuss this problem in the following three subsections.

2.11.1 If the adjectivals do not take "的", the usual order is (1) possessive noun or pronoun, (2) numeral-measures, (3) adjectives, (4) nouns which express qualities. We give first some examples which contain only (2), (3), and (4):

一把 (2) 小瓷 (3) 茶 (4) 壺

兩個 (2) 破 (3) 墨水 (4) 瓶兒

一件 (2) 新 (3) 狐皮 (4) 大衣

The position of (2) is fixed, i.e., it must precede (3) and (4). If (4) is a monosyllabic noun, its position is also fixed, i.e., it must follow (3). If (4) is polysyllabic (polysyllabic noun or monosyllabic noun with accompanying structures) sometimes it can precede (3). For example, for "小瓷茶壺", we cannot say "瓷小茶壺". But for "小洋瓷茶壺", we can say "洋瓷小茶壺".

Possessive nouns and pronouns generally occur before (2), e.g., "我那把小瓷茶壺". Nouns sometimes can also occur after (2), e.g.:

一個<sup>(2)</sup>蘇聯<sup>(1)</sup>老媽媽送給中國女兒南南的紀念品。(人民日報)

But after the order is changed, the noun expresses not possessiveness but quality. (cf. "蘇聯一個老媽媽").

2.11.2 In adjectivals which take "的", possessive nouns and pronouns are still in the front most position. The order of the other adjectives is usually

(1) subject-predicate construction, (2) verb, (3) adjective, e.g.:

“駱駝祥子”是老舍寫的 (1) [一部] 叙述一個洋車夫的  
一生的 (2) 小說。

這些都是古代人民留給我們的 (1) 珍貴的 (3) 遺產。

(3) sometimes can occur before (2), e.g.:

這是一種最狠毒的 (3) 殺人的 (2) 方法。

2.11.3 Adjectivals with "的" always precede adjectivals without "的", e.g.  
(\* marks ill-formedness).

瓷的小茶壺 \*小瓷的茶壺 (cf. 小瓷茶壺, 小的瓷茶壺.)

繡花的綢襯衫 \*綢繡花的襯衫. (cf. 綢的繡花襯衫.)

"自行車上的小螺絲釘兒" "can be changed to" 小自行車  
上的螺絲釘兒". But after the change, both the meaning and the  
construction are altered. In the former sentence, "螺絲釘兒" is pre-  
ceded by a compounded adjectival composed by "小" and "自行車上的".  
In the second sentence, the adjectival "小" modifies "自行車", not "螺  
絲釘兒".

There are two exceptions.

2.11.3.1 Numeral-measures and demonstrative pronoun -measures can occur  
either initially or finally, e.g.:

最大的一間屋子. 一間最大的屋子.

穿紅衣服的那個孩子. 那個穿紅衣服的孩子.

2.11.3.2 Possessive pronouns can occur only initially, e.g.:

他最大的孩子已經十歲了.

Nouns sometimes can occur finally, e.g., "蘇聯最有名望的作家" and "最有名望的蘇聯作家". But when the noun occurs finally, "蘇聯" expresses not possessiveness but quality.

## 2.12 The meaning of adjectivals.

According to the meaning relationship between the adjectival and its head word, the adjectivals may be divided into two groups: restrictive adjectivals and descriptive adjectivals.<sup>16</sup>

Restrictive adjectivals are used to specify a quality or special property. This is used as a basis for the classification of the object denoted by the head word. For example, in "白紙", we use the quality "白" to classify paper. When we say "白紙", we specify that we are speaking of the class of "白紙", not any other class, such as "黃紙", "紅紙", etc. Similarly, in "我的書", "我" is restrictive on "書". When we say "我的書", we specify "我的書" as against other people's books. In effect, we have given books a classification.

All adjectivals composed of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs are restrictive, e.g.:

Nouns: 上海人, 木頭房子, 今天的報.

Pronouns: 我哥哥, 他的眼鏡, 大家的意見.

Adjectives: 白紙, 老朋友, 假古董, 乾淨手絹.

Verbs: 游的魚, 吃的東西, 上海的劇本, 調查的對象.

Adjectivals composed of numeral-measures are a special kind of restrictive adjectival. This kind of adjectival does not classify the object denoted by the head word, but only imposes a quantitative restriction upon it, e.g., "五本書, 三塊屋錢".<sup>17</sup>

Descriptive adjectivals are different from restrictive adjectivals in that they do not provide basis for classification but are used to describe the state or situation of the object denoted by the head word. For example, in "紅紅的臉", "紅紅的" does not classify faces, it merely describes the state of the face. Descriptive adjectivals are primarily composed of the following:

Reduplicated adjectives: 紅紅的臉, 胖胖的孩子,

平平常常的事情, 和和氣氣的人.

Adjectives with auxiliary structures: 香噴噴的酒, 黑魆魆的房子,  
灰不溜秋的天.

Descriptive adjectivals are often accompanied by specific emotional connotations. For example, adjectivals composed of reduplicated monosyllabic adjectives frequently have the flavor of affection and warmth:

他是个小胖子, 短短的腿, 走起路来, 蹑蹑可笑. (朱201)

弯弯的眉毛大大的眼, 红红的嘴唇赛樱桃. (民歌)

Reduplicated adjectives with infixation, when used as adjectivals, are accompanied by connotations of detest and disrespect:

古怪古怪的脾气.

傻裡傻氣的樣兒.

囉裡囉唆的廢話.

### 3.0. Adverbials

#### 3.1 What do adverbials modify?

Adverbials modify the following classes of single words: verbs, adjectives, numerals, numeral-measures, and a number of pronouns. Here are some examples where adverbials modify verbs:<sup>18</sup>



在末莊再看見阿Q出現的時候，是剛過了這年的中秋。(魯73)

你以後沒事可以常到這兒來玩玩。(曹314)

嘴角邊漸漸的有了笑影，臉上也白胖了。(魯110)

眼不看，嘴不說，耳朵可真楞楞的聽着哩。(袁3)

咱們斯斯文文的躺着說話兒。(紅195)

In the following, adverbials modify adjectives:

你真傻！(曹21)

街上非常的清靜。(駱76)

這些房子都破舊了。(朱130)

他聽見商人左翼有挺機槍，叫得怪討厭的。(楊8)

In the following, adverbials modify numerals and numeral-measures:

因為前年攢他自己說她才三十，而今年忽然地三十八了。(曹215)

不多不少，剛好五塊。

已經十個年頭了。

Pronouns which can function as verbs or adjectives can be modified by adverbials, e.g.:

四爺，你怎麼說來看？市面上不怎麼樣，經濟怎麼樣，就應該怎麼樣？(曹218)

這本書寫得不怎麼樣。

Constructions conjoined from verb groups or adjective groups can be modified by adverbials, e.g.:

他時常照鏡子，理頭髮。(曹 230)

在曾選入了中學的前二年，一般孩子還在幸福地拋籃球，打雪仗，鬧得頭破血流的時候，便挑選了一個黃道吉日要為他們了卻終身大事。(曹 367)

二十來的歲，他已經很大很高。(馬各 4)

那樣樣的柔波是這樣的恬靜、委婉。(朱 129)

Sometimes an adverbial can be separated from the head word it modifies and placed in front of the subject, e.g.:

忽然一個老媽媽托着個盤碗進來。(袁 95)

大概的他覺出是順着大路走呢；方向，地點，都有些茫然。(馬各 20)

明天克大夫還來。(曹 130)

以後我們永遠在一塊兒了。(曹 149)

極快的他想出個道理來：炮聲是由南邊來的。(馬各 17)

可是在過去的這些日子，無緣無故的他受盡了委屈與困苦。(馬各 25)

Adverbials of this sort can also be explained as modifying the entire subject-predicate construction following it.

### 3.2 Adverbs as adverbials.

Monosyllabic adverbs, when functioning as adverbials, do not take "地", e.g.:

說孩子不乖巧，又說我太寵他了。(朱 23)

我在床上哭了半夜，只恨自己命苦。(朱 21)

去年我就勸你多少次了。(曹 384)

Disyllabic adverbs may or may not take "也". In the following examples, no meaning change is effected when "也" is deleted.

頭上略略的有些髮環。(完 7.9)

連忙的插住兩腳，挺起腰來往前一擰。(完 6.22)

嘴角邊漸漸的有了笑影。(魯 110)

穀粒非常的小，可是沉重有分量。(馬各 93)

Disyllabic adverbs such as "已經，也許，馬上，幾乎，難道"，cannot take "也".

There is another difference between disyllabic and monosyllabic adverbs: monosyllabic adverbs must directly precede the head word, whereas some disyllabic adverbs can be separated from the head word and placed in front of the subject, e.g.:

也許他從飯廳的門出去了。(魯 149)

忽然，一切東西都非常的清楚了。(馬各 24)

### 3.3 Adjectives as adverbials.

There are two groups of adjectives which can function as adverbials:

(1) 高喊，臭罵，橫寫，紅燒。

(2) 多休息，全走了，早回來。

Adjectives of group (1) are very restricted in terms of the number of words they can modify, e.g., "高" can only modify "喊" or "舉", "橫" can only modify "看", "怪"<sup>19</sup> can only modify "想". Among these forms, some are wenyen usage, e.g. "高舉，靜養，苦勸"; some are very tightly connected much as a single word, e.g., "紅燒，清唱，小看，欠手". Adjectives of group (2) can indeed freely function as adverbials. But the number of words in this group is small. Of the frequently used ones, there are only "多，少，早，晚，全，真，假"，etc.

Words such as "白，光，老，硬，怪"，when functioning as adverbials, undergo a conspicuous meaning change, cf.:

白跑一趟

光說不練

老請假

硬不答應

怪好的

白頭髮

光腳

老朋友

硬板凳

怪脾氣

We feel that these are two different groups of words: in the adjectival position they are adjectives, in the adverbial position they are adverbs.

Disyllabic adjectives which can function as adverbials are generally new terms in the written style, e.g., "經常, 特別, 一般, 正式, 一致, 普遍, 積極, 公開, 直接, 完全", etc. In speech, these are few. The commonly used ones are "乾脆, 仔細, 細心, 勉強", etc.

Most adjectives cannot function as adverbials except when they are reduplicated. For example, we cannot say "輕寫, 慢看, 糊塗念了一遍". But we can say "輕輕地寫, 慢慢地看, 糊糊塗塗地念了一遍". In the following, we give similar examples:

又囑托茶房好好照應我。(朱 161)

蹣跚地走到鐵道邊, 慢慢探身下去。(朱 161)

花也不很多, 圓圓的排成一個圈。(魯 26)

那你為甚麼不正正當當地講出來?(曹 143)

路上有人說話, 可以清清楚楚地聽見。(朱 299)

Adjectives with accompanying structures behave as reduplicated adjectives and commonly function as adverbials, e.g.:

一擁進去, 黑壓壓的擠了半屋子。(袁 11)

燈光紅映映的照着。(袁 209)

有幾個人可憐巴巴地爬在地上嚼那泥漿。(袁 120)

The above examples are in spoken style. In the written style, disyllabic adjectives followed by "地" can function as adverbials, e.g.:

他驚異地笑着說。(魯 275)

幾個老百姓熱烈的喊着。(袁 192)

一片淡淡的夕陽透過窗子微弱地曬在桌子上的菊花瓣上。(曹 461)

The following constructions can sometimes be placed in front of the subject: reduplicated adjectives and subordinate constructions composed of adverbs of degree and adjectives, e.g.:

迷迷糊糊的他拉了幾個買賣。(馬 52)

極快的他想出個道理來:炮聲是由南邊來的。(駱)

### 3.4 Nouns as adverbials.

Nouns which denote time or place and place constructions can function as adverbials, e.g.:

我們現在就走。(曹 143)

我今天走了,過了一兩個月,我就來接她。(曹 145)

柱上歇着一對黑色的八哥。(朱 138)

門前有一條小石橋。(朱 163)

因為思想上有許多問題,我們有許多同志也就不大能真正區別革命根據地和國民黨統治區。(毛 897)

Adverbials of this type do not take "地".

Some nouns, such as "機械, 科學" can function as predicates, and can be modified by adverbs ("你太機械了", "這種說法不科學"). We can see that they are also adjectives. These words, in their

capacity as adjectives, frequently can serve as adverbials, e.g.:

商品這個東西,千百萬人,天天看它,用它,但是熟視無睹,只有馬克思科學地研究了它。(毛839)

我們明知那些歌聲,只是些因襲的言詞,眾生澀的歌喉裡  
機械的發出來的。(朱130)  
這種形式主義地看問題的方法,就影響了後來這個運動的發展(毛8

The adverbials generally take "地".

Adverbials composed of time nouns, place nouns, or place constructions sometimes occur before the subject, e.g.:

明天我不出去。

事實上誰也不相信。

### 3.5 Pronouns as adverbials.

The following types of pronouns can function as adverbials:<sup>20</sup>

- (1) Those which express place: 這兒, 那兒, 哪兒.
- (2) Those which express time: 這會兒, 那會兒, 多會兒, 幾時.
- (3) Those which express quality, state, or manner:

這麼, 那麼, 怎麼,

這樣, 那樣, 怎樣,

這麼樣, 那麼樣, 怎麼樣.

- (4) Those which express degree:

這麼, 那麼, 多

這樣, 那樣, 多麼

這麼樣, 那麼樣,

The function of (1) and (2) corresponds to that of place nouns, time nouns, or place constructions. They can directly function as adverbials, e.g.:

那兒來的？(略 25)

雖然那裡沒有父母親戚，沒有任何財產，可是那到底是他的家。(馬各 24)

那會先你打我，這會完我可不打你。(表 232)

不知他是幾時養的？(紅 42.447)

(3) and (4), when functioning as adverbials, correspond to adverbs or adjectives. They can modify verbs, adjectives or numeral-measures, e.g.:

賣力氣掙錢既是那麼不容易，人人盼望發點邪財。(略 37)

轎轎那麼大，趕上我高了。(楊 69)

祥子！說說，說說你怎麼發的財。(略 38)

姚志蘭嘴裡這樣講，心裡這樣想... (楊 66)

人在世，不是為人嗎？怎麼不能做點事？(楊 9)

我的朋友永遠是那麼幾個。(朱 272)

忽然有這麼一天，天不過午，遠遠地就看見那邊有一座廟。(評書“勞山道士” 3)

Among these, "多" and "多麼" <sup>21</sup> can only modify adjectives and certain verbs which express psychological activity. Their function corresponds to that of adverbs of degree, e.g.:

先學個歌多好。(楊 75)

你看霜多美，多好看！(曹 172)

你瞧他多麼喜歡你啊！

### 3.6 Numeral-measures as adverbials.

Numeral-measures which express the amount of an action can function as adverbials, e.g.:

白露一口灌下，有也不有，就把酒杯交給張喬治。(曹295)

大亂一把抱住他說... (楊102)

一下子把汽船都折開了。(袁81)

抽抽噎噎的哭了一陣，就一頭栽下井去。(袁74)

三天看完一本書。

Numeral-measures which express the amount of objects can function as adverbials after reduplication, e.g.:

我四十多的人，成天鞠着躬，跟這幫王八蛋，甚至於像胡四  
這個賤東西混，我一個一個地都要奉承，拉攏。(曹240)

怎麼走？我告訴你一層一層地爬上去。(曹250)

The numeral-measures "一樣，一般" when functioning singly as adverbials have the meaning of "同樣", e.g.:

黑漆的黃漆的都一樣的油汪汪發光。(駱47)

學校不同，年紀不同，長像不同，可是都一樣的討厭。(駱42)

他們倆一般(樣)高。

In these forms, "一般" emphasizes that the amounts are equal. Therefore, it can only modify adjectives which imply unequal amounts. For example, we can say "一般多，一般高，一般長"，but usually not "一般酸，一般發光，一般討厭"。"一樣" is not restricted in this way. Furthermore, "一樣" as adverbial may or may not take "地"。"一般" frequently does not take "地"。<sup>22</sup>



Sometimes, "一樣" and "一般", when functioning as adverbials, are accompanied by adverbials. These types of adverbials are as follows:

3.6.1 Nouns, verbs, subject-predicate constructions, e.g.:

我像一個瘋子，迴身火一般熱著。(朱82)

窗外的懸冰湖，銀海一般的閃爍。(冰205)

只在街上有時看見他坐在三名輪丈的快轎裡飛一般抬過。(魯329)

殺豬一樣地叫了起來。

針扎一樣地難受。

3.6.2 Word groups composed of constructions made up of "跟，和，同，像" with nouns, verbs or subject-predicate constructions, e.g.:

台州一般的人真是和自然一樣樸實。(朱188)

牛肉乾也凍了，跟老牛皮一般硬。(楊108)

十根指頭却像綉花針一樣靈巧。(楊15)

要是有料子，她媽會把被縫的像天一般大呢。(楊12)

李琳却感到了，像針扎一樣感到了。(楊24)

In the two types of forms discussed above, "一樣，一般" may or may not take "也".

3.7 Prepositional constructions as adverbials.

Prepositional constructions as adverbials frequently modify verbs, e.g.:

兩手提著兩把白鐵壺，正望廚房裡走。(朱164)

章家的李媽在她前，領著，不知在和她說什麼話。(朱11)

凡屬正確的領導，必須是從群眾中來，到群眾中去。(毛921)

其次，應該在民主一點上團結起來。(毛989)

這孩子從眼淚裡爬出來，在戰鬥裡站起來，一天一天長大。(楊44)

這家裡沒有你，老太爺不知道要對我這做兒媳婦的發多少次脾氣啦。(曹381)

那些笑我們會要“塌台”的人們的嘴巴也就可以被我們封住了。(毛918)

目前我們須得變一變，把我們的身體變得小些。(毛904)

Sometimes they can modify adjectives, e.g.:

只有比從前親，不會比從前遠。(曹497)

你和他好，他偏不和你好。(紅91.1043)

Some prepositional constructions can occur before the subject, e.g.:

對於車座兒，他絕對不客氣。(駱194)

當兩位太員回到京都的時候，別的差察員也大抵陸續回來了。(曹237)

為了抗日和建國的需要，人民是應該負擔的。(毛915)

按照孫先生的原則和中國革命的經驗，在現階段上，中國的經濟，必須是由國家經營，私人經營和合作社經營三者組成的。(毛1081)

### 3.8 Adverbials with accompanying structures.

Words which function as adverbials may have accompanying structures.

#### 3.8.1 Nouns which express time or place may be preceded by adverbials, e.g.

(adverbials are marked by subscript wavy lines, the accompanying structures are marked by subscript dots):

你今天晚上上哪兒去了？(曹133)

俘虜裡邊有個美國軍官。(楊90)

可巧軍官背後坐著個土耳其兵。(楊91)

我帶著一家大小從城裡逃到鄉下的第二天，戰事就爆發了。

3.8.2 Adjectives are preceded by adverbials: these adverbials are generally adverbs of degree, e.g.:

他很長的噓了一口氣。(魯133)

我的淚很快地流下來了。(朱)

看見的還是黑暗，可是很清楚的聽見一聲雞鳴。(馬22)

3.8.3 Numeral-measures "一樣，一般" are preceded by adverbials. These forms were discussed in section 3.6, and will not be illustrated here.

Generally, nouns and verbs cannot function as adverbials.<sup>23</sup> However, if the noun is preceded by numeral-measure, or if the verb is preceded by adverbials or followed by objects or complements, then such word groups can function as adverbials, e.g.:

一口氣吃了五個。

兩個月進一次城。

低著頭不停的走。

趙玉林揹著槍，顧著頭，大踏步的走出學校門。(魯84)

又見湘雲穿得整整齊齊的走來。(紅36.383)

洗得乾乾淨淨地笑著。

The adverbials in these forms are all word groups. For example, in "一口氣吃了五個"，the adverbial is not composed of the noun "氣"，but of the subordinate construction "一口氣"。This is because without the numeral-measure "一口"，"氣" cannot function as an adverbial.

### 3.9 "... 似地" as adverbial.

When the auxiliary "似地" is attached to the end of a noun or verb (including word groups whose head word is a noun or a verb), the resulting auxiliary construction can function as an adverb, e.g.:

他就不肯積蓄一點，水似的化錢。(魯 182)

傻子似的他自己笑了。(馬 5)

但他却只是兀坐着嚎啕，鐵塔似的動也不動。(魯 167)

我便趕緊買得，復仇似的說完。(朱 251)

第六個妃子忽然發狂似的哭嚷起來。(魯 258)

"像... 似地" frequently functions as an adverbial, e.g.:

微微輕響的皮輪像陣利風的小鳳似的催着他跑。(駱 11)

他一出門就放開腳步，像木匠牽着的鑽子似的，肩膀一扇扇地直走。(魯 154)

### 3.10 Subject-predicate constructions as adverbials.

There are two types of subject-predicate constructions which can function as adverbials. One type consists of idioms and wenyen forms, e.g., "喜氣洋洋，人事不知，心神不定，聲色俱廢，魂不守舍", etc. (cf. Hanyu 5.157) The other type consists of forms in which the subject and the predicate are the same, e.g.:

虎姑娘站住了，面對面的對他說... (馬 77)

兩個人手牽着手出去了。

脊背對脊背的圍着銀鞘，坐成個大圓圈。(評書"王者"5)

唐扒子天天張窮，一聲接一聲的嘆氣。(泰 26)

### 3.11 Conjoined constructions as adverbials.

There are two types of conjoined constructions. One type is the regular conjoined construction which was introduced in Hanyu 5.146. The other type is the comparative conjoining construction, such as the following:

鬧呀鬧的.	說說笑笑.
說呀笑的.	你一句,我一句.
拼死拼活.	東張張,西望望.
能寫會算.	擱不下,放不下.
拉拉扯扯.	一把眼淚,一把鼻涕.

The major differences between the comparative conjoined constructions and the regular conjoined constructions are as follows:

3.11.1 From the point of view of meaning, in the regular conjoined constructions, each group has a specific 實指 and independent referent. The meaning of the entire construction is the sum of the meanings of the groups. For example, "我,你,他" conjoined is "我和你和他"; "乾淨,整齊" conjoined is "又乾淨又整齊". In comparative conjoined constructions, the meaning of each group is not specificatory but comparative. Neither is the meaning of the entire construction the sum of the meanings of the groups. For example, "我一句,你一句" only means "這個說一句,那個說一句"; it does not specifically refer to "你" and "我". "東張張,西望望" only means "到處看"; it does not specifically refer to "東邊" and "西邊".

3.11.2 The regular conjoined construction is composed of two or more groups. Comparative conjoined constructions are composed of exactly two groups.

3.11.3 The regular conjoined construction is free with respect to its member groups. Comparative conjoined constructions sometimes are free, e.g.:

跑啊跳的.  
老張老王(地亂嚷)  
你一句,我一句.

There are two types of conjoined constructions. One type is the regular conjoined construction which was introduced in Hanyu 5.146. The other type is the comparative conjoining construction, such as the following:

醬呀醋的,  
說呀笑的,  
拼死拼活,  
能寫會算,  
拉拉扯扯,

說說笑笑,  
你一句,我一句,  
東張張,西望望,  
攔不下,放不下,  
一把眼淚,一把鼻涕.

The major differences between the comparative conjoined constructions and the regular conjoined constructions are as follows:

3.11.1 From the point of view of meaning, in the regular conjoined constructions, each group has a specific [實指] and independent referent. The meaning of the entire construction is the sum of the meanings of the groups. For example, "我,你,他" conjoined is "我和你和他"; "乾淨,整齊" conjoined is "又乾淨又整齊". In comparative conjoined constructions, the meaning of each group is not specificatory but comparative. Neither is the meaning of the entire construction the sum of the meanings of the groups. For example, "我一句,你一句" only means "這個說一句,那個說一句"; it does not specifically refer to "你" and "我". "東張張,西望望" only means "到處看"; it does not specifically refer to "東邊" and "西邊".

3.11.2 The regular conjoined construction is composed of two or more groups. Comparative conjoined constructions are composed of exactly two groups.

3.11.3 The regular conjoined construction is free with respect to its member groups. Comparative conjoined constructions sometimes are free, e.g.:

跑啊跳的,  
老張老王(地亂嚷)  
你一句,我一句.

Sometimes they are fixed (idioms), e.g.:

天南地北.

非馬盧非馬.

三長兩短.

狼吞虎咽.

東一鱗, 西一爪.

前不着村, 後不着店.

3.11.4 The grammatical function of the regular conjoined constructions is the same as that of its member groups (cf. Hanyu 5.146). The grammatical function of the comparative conjoined construction is not necessarily the same as that of its member groups. For example, although "你呀我的", is constructed from "你" and "我", its grammatical function is quite different from "你我". "你" cannot be predicates or adverbials. "你呀我的" can be both, e.g.:

你再別你呀我的了.

跟我你呀我的說話也可以 (曹 314)

Both the regular conjoined construction and the comparative conjoined construction can function as adverbials, but under very different circumstances. It has been mentioned above that the grammatical function of the regular conjoined construction is the same as that of its member groups. Therefore, the only conjoined constructions which can function as adverbials are those which are composed of words or word groups which can themselves function as adverbials, e.g., adjectives, time nouns, place nouns, prepositional constructions, etc., e.g.:

頭巍巍, 瘦颯颯, 挺挺地, 高高地聳着的. 想是靈隱的殿宇了 (朱

這些新組織不能說是廣大群眾性的, 還不是思想上, 政治上, 組織上都鞏固的. (毛 570)

為要在黨政機關, 在農村, 在工廠, 在八路軍新四軍裡面, 了解各種人, 熟悉各種人, 了解各種事情, 熟悉各種事情, 就需要做很多的工作 (毛 872)

This is not the case with comparative conjoined constructions. For example, generally, verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, subject-predicate constructions cannot function as adverbials. But comparative conjoined constructions composed of such words frequently can function as adverbials, e.g.:

李石清鞠躬點點頭地正要走出，顧八奶奶推着胡四由中門上。(曹230)

在我眼前就敢信呵詩呵地給你遞起來。(曹448)

先是孩子們你來他去地在廚房與飯間裡查看。(朱148)

人不知，鬼不覺的跑出來了。

寶玉有一搭沒一搭的說些鬼話，黛玉不理。(紅19.196)

When a regular conjoined construction functions as an adverbial, "地" is sometimes placed after the entire construction, sometimes after each member group. A comparative conjoined construction, if it takes "地", can only take it after the entire construction.

### 3.12 The compounding of adverbials.

Sometimes the words which function as adverbials do not have the relationship of head word and accompanying structure, and are not a conjoined construction. Rather, they are individually compounded in a certain order in front of a head word to modify it. Some adverbials are called compounded adverbials, e.g.:

魯貴(偷偷地)(由中門)走進來。(曹55)

她那雪白細長的手(時常)(在她輕輕咳嗽的時候)按着自己瘦弱的胸。(曹21)

而月兒(偶然)(也)(從它門的交叉處)(偷偷)窺看我們，(朱132)

### 3.13 The order of adverbials.

The order of adverbials is freer than that of adjectivals. The general order is as follows: (1) time nouns or prepositional constructions, (2) place



nouns or prepositional constructions, (3) adverbs, (4) adjectives or verbs,

e.g.:

我昨天(1)在圖書館裡(2)又(3)細(4)對了一遍。

早上我起來的時候(1),小屋裡(2)射進兩三寸斜斜的太陽。(朱9)

前年(1)在溫州師範學校圖書館中(2)翻看小方壺齋輿地叢刊的目錄。(朱251)

在我們談話中間(1),又(3)來了兩只歌舫。(朱136)

天天晚上(1)在學堂(2)開會。(袁9)

看的人們也(3)都(3)無聊地(4)走散。(魯250)

然而依然有一種不滿的威情在他心裡(2)隱約地(4)流蕩着。(曹33)

The order mentioned above is not fixed. For instance, adverbs sometimes can occur before (2), or even (1), e.g.:

下面的褲子也碩大無比。褲管總(3)在地上(2)磨擦着。(曹187)

女人們也(3)時時(3)從門裡(2)探出頭來。(魯249)

你也(3)明天(1)走吧

Adverbs of degree are different in that they must directly precede the head word, e.g., "(今天)心裡(很)高興". If the sentence contains other types of adverbs, these occur before the adverbs of degree, as in "(今天)心裡(也)(很)高興". Sometimes an adverb of degree occurs before adjectives or other adverbs. In these cases, it is not a member of a compounded adverbial, but rather an accompanying structure (adverbial) of an adjective, e.g.:

最好音。

很容易辨。

很晚回來。

Adjectives (4) can be moved to the front if they are disyllabic or reduplicated or if they are accompanied by auxiliary structures, e.g.:

汗痛快的(4)往外(2)流。(駱 144)

一面慢慢的(4)走(3)睡著了。(冰 25)

小東西狠狠地(4)向福升身上(2)投了一眼,又低下頭,一語不發。(曹 210)

Of the monosyllabic adjectives, only a few words like "多,少,早,全" etc., can be moved to the front.

### 3.14 The meaning of adverbials.

Adverbials have many and diverse meanings. The major ones are listed below.

3.14.1 Time, place -- to express these meanings, time nouns, place nouns, time adverbs and prepositional constructions are frequently used, e.g.:

我曾經有過一個小兄弟,是三歲上死掉的。(魯 123) [名詞]

右角立一架閱讀燈,燈旁有一張圓形小几。(曹 170) [名詞]

我就回來,你聽見沒有?(曹 13) [副詞]

他的母親已經醒來了。(魯 245) [副詞]

祥子始終一語不發。(駱 85) [副詞]

母親在牌桌上遇見一位太太,她有個女兒。(朱 302) [介詞結構]

3.14.2 State, manner -- to express these meanings, adjectives, pronouns, numeral-measures, the prepositional construction "... 似地" and the comparative conjoined constructions are frequently used, e.g.:

頂可憐的是那長而無毛的脖子，那麼長，那麼亮，彎彎的，最笨的，伸出老遠。(馬各23) [形容詞]

他有一點醉意，可是規規矩矩的把酒放在老車大面前。(馬各87) [形容詞]

道翁，道翁，你不要這麼嚷。(魯144) [代詞]

趙玉更一槍打去，槍子兜兜的從張金龍皮上擦過。(袁156) [數量詞]

一步一步往上提他，眼時提成工務段長了。(楊71) [數量詞]

她失了魂一般走到兩個門的前面。(曹292) [數量詞]

人生最寶貴的愛情，就會像鳥兒似地飛了麼？(曹292) [助詞結構]

你將詩的世界東一鱗西一爪地揭露出來。(朱350) [比喻性聯合結構]

3.14.3 Degree, scope -- adverbs or pronouns are used, e.g.:

是太聰明？是太傻？我想不用我說。(朱365) [副詞]

陳大姐病得很厲害。(袁113) [副詞]

熱子是那麼白，喇叭是那麼響。(駱11) [代詞]

大家幾乎都怒目的往外看，看誰這麼不得人心。(駱86) [代詞]

幾天裡吃飯，睡覺，做文章，都在這轎子裡。(朱307) [副詞]

除了孩子，你心裡只有我。(朱277) [副詞]

3.14.4 Affirmation, negation -- adverbs are used, e.g.:

跑去一問，他果然知道。(曹328)

從此他每一進城，必定來訪我。(魯345)

叫她一定看一看，聽見了沒有？（曹41）〔形容詞〕

因為她病了，沒來成。（朱279）

因為我不想帶你去。（曹46）〔副詞〕

3.14.5 Speaker attitude [語氣] -- adverbs are used, e.g.:

但是你最對不起的人，你反而輕輕地忘了（曹53）

放着福不享，偏要跑。（曹193）

你們讓我歇歇吧，可累死我了。（曹215）

我重翻這詩稿，溫尋着舊夢，心上倒像有幾分秋意似的。（朱193）

他們都說若毛病居然改掉了。（朱17）

Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup>1956, 24th printing. In the table of contents they are called "形容的附加語" and "副詞的附加語". In the text in Chapter III, they are called "形容性附加語" and "副詞性附加語".
- <sup>2</sup>Words which occupy secondary rank positions are not limited to adjectivals; words which occupy tertiary rank positions are not limited to adverbials.
- <sup>3</sup>In the revised edition of 1956, the "three rank analysis" and the notion "rank" were abandoned. "加詞" was changed to "加語" and was extended to denote all modificational structures. No special terms were proposed for adjectivals and adverbials.
- <sup>4</sup>Published consecutively from July, 1952, to November, 1953, in 中國語文.
- <sup>5</sup>In the example sentences of this chapter, subscript dots mark adjectivals and subscript circles mark head words.
- <sup>6</sup>"這樣" and "那樣" both have two uses. They can take adjectivals (新買的那樣), and also adverbials (就這樣吧).
- <sup>7</sup>If "什麼" occurs as the object, the numeral "一" is frequently deleted.
- <sup>8</sup>Constructions such as "我什麼" cannot occur independently; they must be part of a sentence. See (2.2) "Nouns as adjectives" and (2.5) "Pronouns as adjectivals".
- <sup>9</sup>"~" represents head word.
- <sup>10</sup>"一盤炒雞子兒", the "炒雞子兒" is not a subordinate construction. Rather it is a generalized (事物化) verb object construction because we can say "一盤西紅柿炒雞子兒".
- <sup>11</sup>In this type of form, if the noun refers to humans, then there may be two different meanings, e.g. in "你這個先生", "先生" and "你" sometimes refer to two different persons (=你的這個先生), sometimes refer to the same person ("你" are the "先生"). In the former interpretation, "你" modifies "先生"; the entire construction is a subordinate construction expressing possessive relationship. In the latter interpretation, "這個先生" and "你" form a complex demonstrative structure.
- <sup>12</sup>But one cannot say "一樣", only "兩樣". "兩樣" used as adjectival also has two meanings. With "的", it means "not the same as"; without "的" it means "two kinds of" or "two sorts of".
- <sup>13</sup>For "一個旅館的經理" we can also say "一個旅館經理". But the meanings are not entirely the same. The former expresses possessive relationship. The latter expresses quality.
- <sup>14</sup>A form such as "三個孩子的母親" sometimes can also express possessive relationship, e.g. "三個孩子的母親,都來了".

- 15 There are also some which cannot be moved. For example, in "中國, 日本, 印度及其他亞洲國家", the order of the first three groups is free; but "其他亞洲國家" can occur only finally.
- 16 In some subordinate constructions, the adjectival and the head word refer to the same object. This includes mainly two types of forms: (1) "赤壁之戰的故事"; (2) "紅樓夢的作者: 曹雪芹". We group (1) with the restrictive adjectivals, following the system in Hanyu. (2) is a complex form and is not a subordinate construction. Therefore, it is not grouped with the (同一性定語) here.
- 17 "任何, 一切, 別的, 所有, 其他", when used as adjectivals, indicate the scope of the objects denoted by the head word. Thus, they are similar to numeral-measures in this respect and are also restrictive adjectivals.
- 18 In this chapter, adverbials are marked by subscript dots; head words are marked by subscript circles.
- 19 The "怪" in "怪好的" is an adverb; see below.
- 20 cf. Hanyu 5.70.
- 21 The pronoun "多" and the adjective "多" are two different words. The former is read "dwó"; the latter is read "dwo". The "多" in "多麼" is pronounced in the same way as the pronoun "多".
- 22 In the written style, "一般" sometimes has the meaning of "普遍, 大量", e.g. "一般地說, 一般看來". In these contexts, it may or may not take "地".
- 23 In the written style, one occasionally finds exceptions, e.g.:  
 金質的假牙時常在呵呵大笑的時刻誇耀地閃爍着。(魯146)  
 這些連成一氣宛然是流動而深邃的海, 閃爍地汪洋地正沖着他的眼光。(魯151)

Source Books

<u>Name</u>	<u>Edition</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>
《紅樓夢》(曹雪芹)	作家出版社	紅
《兒女英雄傳》(文康)	亞東圖書館	兒
《毛澤東選集》(毛澤東)	人民出版社	毛
《魯迅選集》	中國青年出版社	魯
《朱自清文集》	開明書店	朱
《冰心小說散文選集》	人民文學出版社	冰
《曹禺劇本選》	人民文學出版社	曹
《駱駝祥子》(老舍)	人民文學出版社	駱
《暴風驟雨》(周立波)	人民文學出版社	暴
《三千里江山》(楊朔)	人民文學出版社	楊
《新兒女英雄傳》(袁靜等)	新文藝出版社	袁
《王者》(陳士和講述, 吳同賓整理)	天津人民出版社	—
《勞山道士》(陳士和講述, 江虹整理)	天津人民出版社	—

## BA SENTENCES AND BEI SENTENCES

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## 1.0 Ba sentences.

### 1.1 Various approaches.

In contemporary Chinese, sentences which have subject, predicate, and object usually have these structures in the following order: subject - predicate - object. But if a sentence contains ba, the order is changed to subject - ba - object - predicate. What is the reason for the addition of ba and changing the order of the structures in the sentence? When must we do this and when may we not do this? When is the use of ba optional? Specifically, for those sentences which may or may not take ba, is the option in all contexts or is it rather that ba must be used in some contexts and must not be used in other contexts? In order to clarify these questions, we shall first give a simplified exposition of the various approaches taken by grammarians. As for "將", other than that it does not occur as much in spoken language as ba, there is actually no difference. Consequently, we will not give it additional discussion.

Mr. Wang Li calls ba sentences "disposal forms" 處置式. He states: "Disposal forms express how humans are treated, how they are manipulated, how they are dealt with; or how objects are disposed of, or how activities are carried out. Since it is specifically used for disposing, if the action is not of a disposal nature, then the disposal form cannot be used".<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wang also pointed out that the verb in the predicate of ba sentences cannot be preceded by a negative. He also presented five contexts in which ba cannot be used:

(1) Descriptive words [敘述詞] (that is the verb in the predicate-author) expressing emotional activity, e.g., "我愛他" cannot become "我把他愛".

(2) Descriptive words expressing perceptual phenomenon, e.g., "我聽見他" cannot become "我把他看見".

(3) Descriptive words expressing activities which cannot change the state of the object [目的語] (that is the object-author), e.g., "我上樓" cannot become "我把樓上".

(4) Descriptive words expressing an activity which is an unexpected happening, e.g., "我拾一塊手帕" cannot become "我把一塊手帕拾了".

(5) Descriptive words which are words such as "有, 在", e.g., "我有錢" cannot become "我把錢有", "他在家" cannot become "他把家在家".<sup>2</sup>

After this, Mr. Wang discussed the disposal form from the viewpoint of both meaning and form. He feels that the disposal form is more emphatic: "In form, the restrictions in the disposal form are more severe than those in the normal subject-verb sentences. Ba cannot be added to a simple descriptive word and its object to change them into the disposal form".<sup>3</sup> He says that the disposal form as found in common speech must satisfy one of the five following conditions:

(1) There is a tertiary-rank complement following the descriptive word of the disposal form (the tertiary-rank complement approximately corresponds to the complement verb or directional verb expressing change in the verb as these are discussed in the high school text Hanyu [漢語] - author), or an adjective to express the result of the disposal form, e.g.:

(A) 榮鵬又把襖子連袖子輕輕的褪上。(紅, 八三回)

(B) 把酒燙得滾熱的拿來。(又, 三八回)

(2) The descriptive word in the disposal form is preceded or followed by tertiary rank predicates (this approximately corresponds to prepositional constructions functioning as adverbials or complements as these are discussed in Hanyu - author), e.g.:

(C) 晴雯伸手把寶玉的襖兒在自己身上拉。(又, 七七回)

(D) 把你林姑娘暫安置在碧紗廚裡。(又三回)

(3) The descriptive word is followed by a relational position (This approximately corresponds to the near object in Hanyu - author), e.g.:

(E) 把那條還我吧。(又, 四六回)

(4) The descriptive word is followed by tertiary-rank numerals (this approximately corresponds to numeral-measures functioning as complements in Hanyu - author), e.g.:

(F) 我把他打了一頓。

(G) 我把那門敲了三下。

(5) The disposal form contains an aspectual expression, (tense expressed by tense auxiliaries, or reduplicated verb with "- " to express the brevity of the activity, etc. - author), e.g.:

(H) 由着奴才們把一族中主子都得罪了。(又, 七一回)

(I) 他把書老拿着。

(J) 把頭也另梳一梳。(又, 四四回)

From these, Mr. Wang came to the conclusion that "the disposal form is not suitable for expressing thought which are too simple..."<sup>4</sup>

In addition, Mr. Wang presented a type of "continuative form" [連事式] sentence which he considers to be related to the disposal form. He stated: "The continuative form does not express disposal; rather it expresses that this event is the result of the influence of another event. In form, it is identical with the disposal form",<sup>5</sup> e.g.:

- (A) 誰知接連連許多事情就把你忘了。(紅, 二六回)
- (B) 把牙磕了, 那時候才不演呢!(又, 二六回)
- (C) 你何必為我把自己失了?(又, 二九回)
- (D) 小紅聽了, 不覺把臉一紅。(又, 二六回)
- (E) 偏又把鳳丫頭病了。(又, 七六回)
- (F) 怎麼忽然把個晴雯姐姐也沒有了?(又, 七九回)

He feels that in addition to the fact that one type of sentences expresses disposal while the other type does not, there are these two major differences:

(1) Emotional activities (example A), phenomena of sensation (example D), unexpected happenings (examples B, C), while not expressible by the disposal form, are expressible by the continuative form.

(2) The descriptive word in the disposal form must be a transitive verb [及物動詞] (that is 他動詞 - author), whereas in the continuative form intransitive verbs (that is 自動詞 - author) can be used as well, as in examples E, F.<sup>6</sup> In 中國現代語法, Mr. Wang called the continuative form "the free use of the disposal form", and pointed out that this form usually refers to events which are unfortunate or not self-determined.

Now let us discuss the point of view of Mr. Lü Shu Ziang. Mr. Lü thinks that ba sentences can be studied from three approaches: the meaning of the verb, the nature of the object, and the form of the entire sentence. Mr. Lü feels that the approach taken by Mr. Wang is primarily that of the meaning of the verb. Of the five situations presented by Mr. Wang as not permitting ba, he pointed out that situations (1), (3), (4) are not valid. Mr. Lü has presented contra-examples to these three situations.<sup>7</sup>

The examples for emotional activities are:

- (A) 這麼一來, 他可要把你恨透了。
- (B) 盼來盼去, 總算把這一天盼到了。
- (C) 你把這句話再想想看。

The examples for situations where the state of the object cannot be changed are:

- (D) 把三百級台階一口氣走完。
- (E) 你把這個留著自己用吧。

(F)把安老爺上下打量兩眼。(兒女英雄傳,三八回)

Mr. LI pointed out that the reason why we cannot say "我把樓上" is that the relationship between "上" and "樓" is not the same as that which commonly exists between verb and object because these objects are somewhat similar to place complements. The examples for unexpected happenings are:

(G)把日子誤了。

(H)把機會錯過了。

(I)把姑娘的東西丟了。(紅,七三回)

(J)先把太太得罪了。(紅,七四回)

Mr. LI feels that the reason we cannot say "我把一塊手帕拾了" is due to the fact that the object is indeterminate and not because it expresses a type of unexpected happening. As for the two other situations and for the rule that ba cannot be followed by negatives, Mr. LI expressed agreement. He does not favor the two terms disposal form and continuative form. He feels that since they are formally identical, if one is not called disposal form, there is no need to set up a term, continuative form, for the other.

Mr. LI's conclusion is that from examining the meaning of the verb, we can only learn of the contexts where ba must not or should not be used. But we cannot learn of the contexts where ba must be or should be used.<sup>8</sup>

Then Mr. LI discussed ba sentences from the point of view of the nature of the object. He thinks that the object must be determinate, and points out that the determinancy of a noun may be marked not only with "這" and "那" but also with preceding "個" or "些,兒". Mr. LI's conclusion is: "From studying the nature of the object, we can only learn that if the object is indeterminate, ba cannot be used. But when the object is determinate, we cannot learn when ba should be used and when it should not be used."<sup>9</sup>

Lastly, Mr. LI examines ba sentences from the form of the entire sentence. He feels that the major criterion for using ba is the presence of certain structures before or after the verb. He says: "The disposal meaning of the verb, the determinate nature of the object are both indirect criteria. Only this third criterion - the structures surrounding the verb - is a direct one that is the moving force behind the ba sentences in contemporary Mandarin".<sup>10</sup> Then Mr. LI presented 13 ba sentence types, pointing out which ones must have ba and which ones may or may not use ba.<sup>11</sup> Here, we have rearranged the 13 types into 15 types, combined into two large groups (those which must and those which may). For each type, we reproduce one or two of the original examples.

Group A: Those which must use ba.

(1) The object following the verb is preserved - the relation between the object and verb is very close, forming an idiom:

(A) Objects commonly preserved:

跑去把大門上了大門。(老殘遊記, 五回)

他便把那話變了個相兒, 倒問着人家說, ... (兒女英雄傳, 一八回)。

(B) Objects preserved are result objects:

把這情由細細寫了一個稟帖。(儒林外史, 五回)

雨墨又把雨衣包了個小小包袱, 背在肩頭。(三俠五義, 二四回)

(C) The object following the verb belongs to a preceding object.

把一丈青拴了兩手。(水滸, 四八回)

有比他強的呢, 就把他免了職。(老舍, 黑白李)

(D) The object following ba has the flavor of a place complement.

你把火盆裡多添點炭。(老殘遊記, 一六回)

把壁爐生了火, 安旺旺的。(冰心, 第一次宴會)

(2) There is a passive complement after the verb; and the object is determinate:

(A) Those which do not use "給":

又把那小包袱交還他母女。(兒女英雄傳, 一〇回)

(B) Those which use "給":

你老子使了我五千銀子, 把你推折賣給我的。(紅, 八〇回)

(3) There is a place complement after the verb, and the object is determinate.

你把心暫且用在這幾本書上。(紅, 七三回)

將碟子挪在跟前。(又, 七五回)

(4) There is a polysyllabic result complement after the verb which is not preceded by "得":

等我原故說明白。(兒女英雄傳, 一六回)

(5) There is a result complement after the verb which is preceded by "得":

把話說得越堅決越好。(老舍, 黑白李)

(6) The verb is preceded by "都, 也", if the noun or pronoun which is related in meaning to these two words is the object:

把方才的話都說了。(紅,七一回)

把午膳也犧牲了。(冰心,第一次宴會)

(7) There are other preposed structures before the verb:

(A) A few adverbs similar in meaning to "都":

把細磁碗盞和銀鑲的杯盤逐件看了一遍。(儒林外史,三四)

把箱子一齊打開。(紅,七四回)

(B) Place complements introduced by "往":

就把手裡的花兒往安老爺肩膀子上擱。(史英雄傳,三八回)

(C) Comparative adverbs [比況補語] "做...", "般...", etc:

不把錢做錢看,不把人做人看。(雪舟勝語)

把你似真土堆般看待,泥土般拋才擲。(元曲選,王鏡伯,三折)

Group B: Those which may use ba.

(1) The verb is followed by a [偏稱] object:

小廝把銀子鑿下七錢五分。(金瓶梅,二三回)

把衣服脫了一件。(儒林外史,三四)

(2) The verb is followed by a degree object:

把那烟袋鍋兒挖一挖。(史英雄傳,三七回)

把方才的話說了一遍。(紅,七一回)

(3) The verb is followed by a passive complement and the object is indeterminate (the following examples do not use ba - author):

你既不愿意,我教你個法兒。(紅,四六回)

再賣給我們兩個柿子。(冰心,冬兒姑娘)

(4) The verb is followed by directional or time complements (in Hanyu, these are called directional verbs or time auxiliaries which express change in the verb - author):

他們索性回明了太太,把二姐姐接回來。(紅,八一回)

寶蟾把臉紅着,并不答言。(又,九一回)

(5) The verb is followed by a monosyllabic result complement:

把生死關頭看破。(史英雄傳,一六回)

還不快換雙鞋去呢,把地毯都弄髒了。(冰心,第一次宴會)

(6) The verb is followed by special types of result complements.

(A) The verb is originally intransitive. Here it has a "causative" meaning and becomes transitive:

把個李執和索鵬哭的死去活來。(紅, 九八回)  
雷下把鄭九公樂了個拍手打掌。(兒女英雄傳, 一九回)

(B) The action of the verb cannot govern the object but can cause the object to reach the state expressed by the result complement:

好孩子, 你把我的心都哭亂了。(紅, 九七回)  
你們的汽車, 你們的跳舞, ... 這兩年已經把她的眼睛看迷了。(曹, 馬, 雷雨)

(7) When ba has a meaning similar to that of "讓" and is used for unfortunate happenings. The major verbs are mostly intransitive; there is no result complement:

我煩你做什麼, 把你懶的橫針不拈, 豎線不動!(紅, 六二回)  
怎麼忽然把個晴雯姐姐也沒有?(又, 七九回)

(8) The verb is preceded by "一":

早兒把眼圈兒一紅, 忙把話岔過去。(又, 七一回)  
把那大巴掌一抡, 拍得桌子上的碟兒碗兒山響。(兒女英雄傳, 三二回)

Mr. Lü's final conclusion is: "When ba sentences were first used, this sentence type probably did not have a special function. The main reason for its great versatility in contemporary Chinese is that there are some situations in which the object must be shifted to precede the verb. Also, there are two important indirect restrictions. First, the object must be determinate. Secondly, the verb must express a type of action [作為], a type of disposal. When these direct and indirect criteria conflict (such situations are rare), if there is no third sentence type that can be used, then ba sentences are favored over the normal subject-verb sentences."<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Zhang Zhi Gong feels that there are two situations in which ba is used to move the object forward: one type is due to the demand of meaning, the other is due to demands of structure. By demands of structure, he means that either the verb is comparatively complex or that the object is comparatively complex. Mr. Zhang's conclusion is "when the verb is complex, ba must be used to shift the object forward. But when the object is complex, although the use of ba to shift the object forward is not mandatory, in so doing we obtain a more fluent sentence."<sup>13</sup>

Messrs. Hu Fu and Wen Lian suggest the examination of ba sentences from a structural viewpoint. They reject the term "disposal form" as proposed by

Mr. Wang Li. Their reason is that even though some ba sentences express disposal, the fact that ba sentences can have "free use" makes the term "disposal form" unsuitable.<sup>14</sup> From examining the structure, they concluded with 3 rules:

(1) Verb-predicate sentences most frequently use the form "subject-verb-object". If there is no special reason, ba is generally not used to shift the object forward.

(2) In the following situations, ba may or may not be used:

(A) The verb takes "了, 着, 起來, 下去" etc.

(B) The verb is a verb-complement construction.

(C) The verb has two objects.

(D) The verb is preceded or followed by additive structures.

(3) If the verb takes a rather complex complement as well as an object, ba is generally used. If the verb complement is an auxiliary verb (that is preposition- author), the verb-object phrase (that is word group - author) must use ba.<sup>15</sup>

The above are the viewpoints of several grammarians on ba. The explanations are all based on either meaning or structure. Messrs. Hu and Wen are correct in saying: "The task of the grammarian resides in examining certain structural features in language, the meanings expressed by these features and the purpose of these features. Then, these should be given reasonable explanations. It is not correct to look at just form and not at meaning. But we should discover meaning from structure."<sup>16</sup> However, Messrs. Hu and Wen do not indicate what kind of meaning ba sentences have after they have rejected the term "disposal form". They only say: "Perhaps the word ba specifically has this structural function".<sup>17</sup> But is this not the separation of form and meaning without having discovered meaning from structure?

## 1.2 Several problems related to ba sentences.

Based on the inroads made by the various people mentioned above, let us discuss the several key questions of ba sentences to see whether we can further explicate this form.

### 1.2.1 The disposal nature of the verb.

Although Messrs. Lü, Hu and Wen do not agree to calling ba sentences disposal forms, Mr. Lü feels that the verb in ba sentences must express a type of



disposal or behavior, and Messrs. Hu and Wen also feel that a subset of the ba sentences do express disposal. Whether this subset is a major or minor portion of the set of ba sentences, such a percentage is difficult to assess. However, based just on the speaking experience of our daily life, it seems that the percentage is not small. Let us first not consider the matter of percentage, but examine this property which actually exists. For example, we have the following ways of stating the insertion of a batch of flowers into a vase:

- (1) 他在花瓶裡插了一把花。
- (2) 他把一把花插在花瓶裡。
- (3) 他把花瓶插了一把花。

We have no way of differentiating their nature if we were to explicate these sentences on the basis of form. Can we say that they are not different? Clearly, these three sentences express three different situations. The first sentence simply describes "his" action. The second and third sentences are very good evidence for Mr. Wang Li's disposal form. The second sentence describes how "一把花" is disposed of, and the third sentence describes how "花瓶" is disposed of. Also, we can exemplify two uses of ba by the following description of a man selling two pigs:

- (4) 他把兩只豬賣了。
- (5) 他把豬賣了兩只。

Again, the two forms express two different meanings: if he only has two pigs, we would probably use the first sentence; if he has more than two pigs, we would probably use the second sentence. Examples (2), (3), (4), (5) are all ba sentences. Individually examined, each sentence is structurally correct. But in a given situation, a structurally correct sentence may not be suitable for use. For instance, if a child asks his mother: "這把花怎麼辦?" the mother can only say "把它插在花瓶裡吧" and not "把花瓶插上一把花吧!". When we speak, the things we say cannot be divorced from the situation (including the linguistic context which precedes or follows). Similarly, when we are examining a sentence, we must take into account the situation in which it occurs. The problem is only half solved when we tell someone that a given sentence is structurally correct but do not indicate the set of situations in which it should be used. For a non-Mandarin speaker, it is less than half-solved. Even though the term disposal form cannot cover all the uses of ba, if we tell students that ba expresses disposal and the noun expressing the

person or thing disposed of is the object of ba as well as the object in the meaning of the verb in the predicate, the students will at least be able to construct correctly a large number of sentences. If instead of the above, we only tell them the rules of "when the verb takes a comparatively complex complement", etc., they will not be able to understand the difference between examples (2) and (3), and (4) and (5).

The disposal property of ba can be seen from another point of view. The set of verbs that cannot be used with ba is much more diverse than the perceptual category pointed out by Mr. Wang Li, such as "看見, 聽見" and "有, 在" etc. The following verbs also cannot be used with ba no matter how complex the verb becomes: "躲, 到, 遇到, 得到, 離開, 接近, 成為, 贊成, 上(樓)下(山)". These verbs indeed give the impression that they "cannot change the state of the item expressed by the object", as Mr. Wang Li has put it. But what makes Mr. Wang's treatment worth considering? Because, of the verbs which can take ba, many are also incapable of changing the state of the item expressed by the object, e.g., "他把我看了兩眼", "請你把這個問題好好想想". The reason why the above-mentioned verbs cannot take ba can be seen in these two ways. One is that, as Mr. Wang has said, their major function is to describe the action of the actor (i.e., subject). Since this action does not have any direct influence on the object, it naturally cannot change its state. The other is that such verbs express a relation between the action and the item expressed by the object that is extremely simple. This relation is so simple that one may not use any preposed or postposed structures to explicate that the action has one kind of influence on the object and not some other kind of influence, e.g.:

(6) 我昨天遇到一個朋友。

(7) 他上星期五到了上海。

(8) 他們贊成你當小組長。

Although it has been said above, "no matter how complex these verbs become", actually, as pointed out by Messrs. Hu and Wen, it is very difficult for these verbs to become complex.<sup>18</sup> We know about the preposed and postposed structures of the verb in the predicate of ba sentences. Either these structures describe the result achieved on the item expressed by the object through the action of the verb, such as "他把書擺開在桌上", or, they describe the manner with which the action has relation with the item, such as "他把書看

了又肯"。The verbs mentioned above can neither express any direct influence upon the item expressed by the object to produce certain results, nor can they have unusual types of relations with the object. Naturally, they cannot occur in ba sentences.

As for the non-usage of ba sentences for what Mr. Wang calls "unexpected happenings", Mr. Li has already cited counter-examples. But let us consider again Mr. Wang's example: "把一塊手帕拾了"。The reason why this cannot be said, according to Mr. Li, is that "一塊手帕" is indeterminate. But why can we say "我昨天騎車,把一個小孩兒給碰了"? Not considering for the moment whether "一塊" and "一個" are determinate or not, at least they are similar in nature. As for the verb, "拾" and "碰" are both unexpected happenings. I feel that the key rests with "拾" or "撿" in the spoken language, which in this sentence belongs to the non-disposal type of verbs mentioned above. "撿" and "遇到" are the same. We can only say "我遇到一個朋友" and "我撿了一塊手絹兒". But "撿" or "拾" has another meaning, that is, to pick up from the ground, that can be used in ba sentences. We can say "我把一塊手絹兒撿起來放在桌上", or "幾個小孩兒把場上的麥穗撿了". The "撿" with the first meaning cannot take complements other than "到,着 (zháo)". Also, "撿到,撿着" are not very different in meaning from "撿". But the "撿" with the second meaning can take many different complements, as in "撿走,撿光,撿得一乾一淨". Another case is the verb "帶". From the different relations it has with the object we can determine whether or not it can be used in ba sentences. We can say:

(9) 你還是把錢帶着吧。

(10) 我不想把這些東西帶着,太累贅了。

But the following two sentences cannot be changed to ba sentences:

(11) 他帶着滿臉的喜氣。

(12) 她身上帶着一股香味兒。

Or take the verb "要". In one meaning of wanting something, we can use a ba sentence, e.g.:

(13) 你去跟他把那本字典要來

For the other meaning of receiving something, we cannot use ba, but can only say:

(14) 書的送來不少,可是我只要了一本字典。

We can say that these several verbs belong to both the disposal and non-disposal classes. As for Mr. Wang's perceptual verbs "看見,聽見", the fact

that they cannot be used in ba sentences actually has nothing to do with perception. Rather, it is because they belong to the class of non-disposal verbs. "有, 在" and "上(樓), 下(山)" also belong to this class. If we carefully examine the relations between these verbs and objects, we would be able to sense the disposal nature of the verbs which can be used in ba sentences.

### 1.2.2 The determinate nature of the object.

Whether or not a sentence can take ba sometimes is much related to the nature of the object. But the point "determinate" or "indeterminate" is not exactly clear. If we say that "determinate" means having a specific referent and "indeterminate" means having a general referent, it would be difficult to explain why we can say the following sentences:

- (1) 他這人太浪費, 總把錢不當錢化。
- (2) 他目空一切, 從來不把人在眼裡。
- (3) 我想把一本俄文小說譯成中文, 你說譯那一本好?

Here "錢", "人" and "小說" have no specific reference to a particular sum of money, person, or novel. We admit that in ba sentences, determinate objects are much more frequent than indeterminate objects. But it is very difficult to judge an object determinate or indeterminate from its form. In sentences of the type "subject-predicate-object", a lone noun used as object may be indeterminate, as in "他怎麼老寫信?" But in ba sentences, a lone noun used as object frequently is determinate, as in "我把信寫了", in which the reference must be to a specific letter or batch of letters. The determinateness or indeterminateness of the object in ba sentences is also related to the verb in the predicate. We can discuss the following separately.

A. The verb takes "了". This is the minimum condition for ba sentences. It is also one of the criteria Mr. Lü has on when ba may or may not be used. Is it true that the use of ba is optional with all sentences of this type? If the object is clearly determinate, then ba is optional, e.g.:

- (4) { 我把那封信燒了。  
      { 我燒了那封信了。
- (5) { 他把這些書看了。  
      { 他看了這些書了。
- (6) { 我們把要買的東西買了。  
      { 我們買了要買的東西了。

But is the object determinate if the object is preceded only by numerals and measures? Is the use of ba optional then? This leads us to the relation between the object and the verb in the predicate. In the following sentences, the object is determinate and ba is optional.

- (7) {我把一本書賣了。  
      {我賣了一本書。  
(8) {他把三件衣服洗了。  
      {他洗了三件衣服。  
(9) {我們把幾張文件燒了。  
      {我們燒了幾張文件。

However, the following sentences cannot be changed into ba form:

- (10) 我昨天買了一本書。  
(11) 他作了兩首詩。  
(12) 上星期我縫了三件小褂兒。  
(13) 我們聯合發表了一篇宣言。

If we examine them closely we can see that these sentences share the following property: The items expressed by the object all appear through the action expressed by the verb. In other words, these items did not "exist" before the action.<sup>19</sup> Since these items did not exist, clearly they cannot be disposed of, hence ba cannot be used. In the following, we give some examples taken from literature:

- (14) 我已替你想了個極當的美號了。(紅, 三七回)  
(15) 揀了一個小小的海棠凍石黃葉杯。(又, 三八回)  
(16) 鄉親還沾了一點酒, 向熟肉店買了一斤肉。(葉聖陶, 多收了三五斗)  
(17) 於是... 寫了漢文的英文的兩張習字, 又寫了一封信。(葉聖陶, 一個練習生)

In order to understand this point more clearly, we can examine the verbs "倒" and "換". "倒一杯茶" can have two meanings: (a) No tea is originally in the cup; tea is poured from the teapot into the cup; (b) There is tea in the cup; the tea is poured out. If we want to express the first meaning, ba cannot be used: "他倒了一杯熱茶(湯)". If we want to express the second meaning, then we use ba: "他把一杯涼茶倒了, 又倒了一杯熱的". In the sentence expressing the first meaning, even though the tea did "exist" before the action of pouring, from the point of view of "一杯茶" it can

be said not to have existed. Similarly, "換", also has two meanings: (a) to change off an item which "exists" for some purpose; (b) to change off an item which does not "exist" for this purpose. For example, if we say "他換了一雙皮鞋", doubtlessly this refers to a pair of shoes that was not on the feet before. If we say "他把一雙布鞋換了", this clearly means that the pair of cloth shoes are taken off the feet and another pair of shoes is put on. Therefore, if one changes from cloth shoes into leather shoes, we can only say "他把一雙布鞋換了,換了一雙皮鞋", but not the other way around. If one changes from leather shoes to cloth shoes, then we must say it in reverse order.

If an item takes a "restrictive" adjectival, it may take ba even though it did not originally "exist", because the adjectival makes it specific:

(18) 我把一本非常急須的書買了。

(19) 他把兩首很難作的詩作了。

B. The verb takes a complement. If the verb takes a complement, almost always it can take ba even if it does not fulfill some of the conditions mentioned above.

(20) 昨天我把一本書買錯了。

(21) 他把兩首詩做得簡直不像詩。

(22) 我把一件小褂兒縫小了。

Since the emphasis is shifted to the result of the verb, the "existence" of the item is naturally no longer in question.

From the examples given above, it is seen that to say the object in the ba sentence is determinate is not enough, if by determinate is meant a specific reference. We can say that the object in ba sentences must fulfill one of the two following conditions:

(A) it must refer to specific person(s) or item(s).

(B) it must refer to person(s) or item(s) which "existed" before the action, whether the latter are specific or not.

The "existence" of persons or items is indeed very important. For example, if a person lost his job and has no money to send home, we cannot say "他失業了,不能把錢寄回家去了"; we can only say "他失業了,不能寄錢回家"。 But we can say "那個地方不通匯兌了,他不能把錢寄回家去了"。

### 1.2.3 Sentences which may or may not take ba.

I do not think that anyone would disagree with the conditions under which ba must be used as pointed out by the several linguists. The situation there is relatively simple. But regarding sentences which may or may not take ba and under what conditions, the problem is not that simple. There are two types of situations in which the use of ba is optional. One type has been discussed above, i.e., judging from the construction of the sentence, ba can be used; but because the verb is not of the disposal category, ba cannot be used. This type of sentence actually should be considered as incapable of taking ba. The other type is really the type under which ba is optional. That is to say, when examined in isolation, the use of ba is optional. But there are contexts in which it is either not possible or not suitable to use ba. The example given above about "寄錢" would illustrate this point. Now we give some more examples taken from the written literature. These sentences do not have and cannot take ba. But if they are taken out of context, they all can take ba:

- (1) 黛玉只帶了兩個人來，一個是自己的奶娘王媽媽，一個是十歲的小丫頭，名叫雪雁。(《紅樓夢》，三回)
- (2) 我雖比他尊貴，但綾錦紗羅，也不過裹了我這枯株朽木，羊羔美酒，也不過填了我這囊窟泥溝。(《紅樓夢》，七回)
- (3) 孔乙己剛用指甲蘸了酒，便在櫃上寫字……(魯迅，孔乙己)
- (4) 掌櫃仍然同平常一樣，笑着對他說：“孔乙己，你又偷了東西了！”(《紅樓夢》，七回)
- (5) 你要曉得紅眼睛阿義是去盤盤底細的，他却和他攀談了。(魯迅，藥)

I feel the reason that these sentences cannot take ba is that there is no need to emphasize the disposal of the items in these contexts.

Generally speaking, whether ba is used or not depends on whether the disposal is emphasized or not, with no appreciable difference in the meaning. However, there are some sentences which on the surface seem to be only differentiated by ba. But they are actually differently constructed sentences with consequent differences in meaning, e.g.:

- (6) a. 他取書來了。(He wants to take the book away)  
b. 他把書取來了。(He has brought the book here from elsewhere)
- (7) a. 你拿牛奶去吧。(It may mean either "[you] go somewhere to

get the milk", or "[you] take the milk elsewhere")

b. 你把牛奶拿去吧。

(It means only "[you] take the milk elsewhere")

Sentence 6b is not derived from 6a by the addition of ba. If ba is taken away, it would be "他取來了書". If 7a has the meaning of "[you] take the milk elsewhere", it can take ba and be changed to 7b. But if it means "[you] go somewhere to get the milk", then it cannot take ba. These two pairs of sentences seem to further illustrate the disposal nature of ba: when ba is not used, the object can be followed by verbs which are controlled by the subject, as the "來" in 6a or the "去" in 7a. But after ba is used, the "來" and "去" in "取來" and "拿去" following the object can only describe the result of disposing of the object.

In any case, although we do not deny that in many situations it makes little difference whether we use ba or not, still there are sentences which seem to be able to take ba structurally, which cannot take ba because of the nature of the verb or object. There are also sentences which have different meanings depending on whether or not ba is used; furthermore, there are situations under which ba cannot be used in such sentences. Consequently, ba must have its function and is not merely a problem in form or structure.

#### 1.2.4 The conjunctive use of ba.

The conjunctive use of ba is what Mr. Wang Li has called the continuative form and what Mr. Lü has divided into classes (6) and (7) in our earlier discussion. It is not an important issue whether such sentences should have a special label. What is important is explaining their special properties. These sentences can be divided into two groups. Structurally, the first group is not different from the common ba sentences, except that they refer to actions which are so-called emotional, e.g.:

(1) 他把我恨死了。

(2) 她把她的白貓愛得什麼似的!

The following examples are from 紅樓夢。

(3) 若問這個方兒，真把人瑣碎死了。(七回)

(4) 你太把人看糊塗了。(五五回)

(5) 你暫且把我們忘了，使不得嗎?(七五回)

(6) 你把我的心都哭亂了。(九七回)



- (7) 越發把秋桐嫌了。(一一四回)  
 (8) 竟把那兒女情緣也有淡了些。(一一六回)  
 (9) 把素日冷淡寶玉的主意都忘在九霄雲外了。(一一七回)

This type of sentences either describes how a person or an item is dealt with or states the influence upon a particular person or item. Their special features are (a) the verb usually takes a complement; (b) the complement usually describes something intense. If we do not maintain a very narrow understanding of "disposal", this type of sentences are identical with common ba sentences both in structure and in meaning.

The second type of conjunctive use of ba is very different from the common ba sentence. In this type, the ba can be deleted without affecting the order of the predicate and object. The following examples are from *紅樓夢*:

- (10) 不知說了一句話,半句話,名兒姓兒知道了沒有,就把他興頭的這個樣子。(二七回)  
 (11) 偏又把鳳丫頭病了。(七六回)  
 (12) 怎麼把個晴雯姊姊也沒了。(七九回)  
 (13) 把個劉老老也嚇怔了。(一一九回)  
 (14) 倒把個香菱急得臉脹通紅。(一二〇回)

We can add a few more:

- (15) 把西門慶吃得酩酊大醉。(金瓶梅,一回)  
 (16) 把周先生羞的臉上紅一塊白一塊。(儒林外史,二回)  
 (17) 把我孩子凍成什麼樣子。(高玉寶,四章)  
 (18) 把我冷得直哆嗦。  
 (19) 把匹馬累得站都站不住了。

In (12), (13), (14), and (19), if ba is deleted, the measures "個" and "匹" must of course also be deleted. But in the original sentence, these measures are not essential either.<sup>20</sup> Strictly speaking, these sentences are not completely the same. The predicates in some sentences are intransitive verbs, such as the "興頭" in (10), the "病" in (11) and the "沒" in (12). Some predicates are not verbs but adjectives, as the "冷" in (18). Generally, intransitive verbs and adjectives cannot function as predicates of ba sentences. Some of the verbs in the predicates can take objects, such as the "嚇(怔)" in (13), which could have been expressed as "嚇怔了劉老老". But after the deletion of ba (and the measure "個"), the remaining portion is still a complete sentence (the object of ba becomes the subject; the following portion

comments on the state of the subject). We might as well consider these a separate class. This type of sentences usually explains the state or change of a certain animate entity that results from the happening of a certain event. It is very much as though they have acquired this change or state through the manipulation or influence of this event. If these sentences did not take ba, they only indicate that a certain animate entity has acquired this state. If ba is used, then the connection is made to the preceding event and it becomes clear that the state of the entity is a result of the event. In this way, it is quite close to the meaning expressed by common ba sentences. The properties of this type of sentence are (a) the great majority of the objects of ba are human, occasionally animals, but never inanimate; (b) the following verb or adjective with complement is descriptive rather than narrative, frequently describing emotion or perception; (c) the emotion or perception frequently reaches a very intense level. Sentences (11) and (12) are the most difficult to explain. They do not seem to conform with the conditions mentioned above. Also, the event which caused 鳳姐's sickness or 晴雯's death is not given in the context. These special sentences need further study.

In any case, whether or not ba sentences are called "disposal forms" is not just a structural question. The ba emphatically expresses the direct action or attitude that a certain person or item assumes toward another person or item. Sometimes, it goes a step further to emphasize the result on the latter person or item of this action or attitude.

#### 1.2.5 The affirmativeness of the action.

Just as Mr. Wang Li has said, ba is used in active disposal. Therefore, the verb in the predicate cannot be negated (it cannot be preceded by a negative). If it is a negative sentence, the negative must be shifted to precede ba, as in "他沒把課文了解透澈". But the affirmativeness of the action is not necessarily determined on formal grounds. In the following sentences from 紅樓夢, the verbs in the predicates are all negated.

- (1) 把寶玉沒急死了。(九〇回)
- (2) 怎麼把頭裡的寶色都沒了呢?(九五回)
- (3) 你為什麼把從前的靈機兒都沒有了?(九九回)
- (4) 把我那要強的心一分也沒有了。(一一回)

(5) 把從前那些邪魔永不沾染。(一一八回)

(6) 襲人見[寶玉]把鶯兒不理, 恐鶯兒沒好意思的。(三五回)

Sentence (1) is a common form, having the meaning of "寶玉差一點兒沒氣死", i.e., 寶玉 is extremely worried. (Similarly we can say "把我沒凍死"). The "沒" and "沒有" in (2) and (3) mean "lost". The "一分也沒有" in (4) means "completely eliminated". The "永不沾染" and "不理" in (5) and (6) are idioms. These negative forms actually all have the meaning of affirmativeness. Therefore, they can use ba. However, there are after all very few verbs which have affirmative meaning and yet take negative forms or idioms which take negatives. Therefore, these do not contradict the generality of the rule that ba cannot be followed by negative words.

### 1.2.6 Ba and "na(拿)" "yong(用)"

As has been pointed out by many linguists, ba and "將" were originally verbs. In some dialects, "拿" is used instead of ba. In earlier forms of baihua, ba and "將" could be used in the same way as "拿" and "用"; e.g.:

(1) 把花鎗挑了酒葫蘆。(水滸, 一〇回)

(2) 林冲把手床上換時... (又, 一〇回)

(3) 把我的馬廬牽在後園槽上, 卸了鞍子, 將些草喂的飽飽的。  
(儒林外史, 二回)

(4) 把彈子打瞎人的眼睛。(又, 五九回)

(5) 寶玉正把眼瞅着那"海棠春睡圖"。(紅, 一一回)

(6) 把話先來慢慢兒的歡解了好些時。(又, 一一九回)

In contemporary Chinese, "拿" and "用" are used in such sentences instead of ba. However, these are instances of the free interchange between "拿, 用" and ba in earlier baihua, the practice of which still exists now, e.g.:

(7) 怪不得他們拿姐姐比楊妃, 原也富貴些。(紅, 三〇回)

(8) 後來我們拿這個作被, 作帳子... (又, 四〇回)

(9) 不拿薑汁子和醬預先抹在底子上火烤過... (又, 四二回)

(10) 我要不把姐姐當親姐姐待... (又, 三七回)

(11) 人家把你當個正經人... (又, 四回)<sup>21</sup>

(12) 人家有為難的事, 拿着你們當做正經人... (又, 四六回)

The "拿" in (7) can be replaced by ba; the "拿" in (8), (9) can also be replaced by either ba or "用"; the ba in (10) can be replaced by "拿". The meanings of (11) and (12) are exactly the same. Although one uses ba and the

other uses "拿着", these words can be interchanged. There are also some sentences in 紅樓夢 which use "拿" and "用" that definitely cannot be replaced by ba:

(13) 忙命人拿盤子裝了十個極大的。(三九回)

(14) 賈母又命拿些錢給他。(三九回)

(15) 黛玉親自用小茶盤捧了一盞石叻茶來。(四〇回)

(16) 拿上等燕窩一兩，冰糖五錢，用銀吊子熬出粥來...(四五回)

In any case, whereas "拿" and "用" prevail in many sentences in contemporary Chinese, there are sentences which use ba in their place. The latter type of sentences occurs less in 紅樓夢 than in 儒林外史, and less in 儒林外史 than in 水滸. From the point of view of language change, the separation in usage between ba and "拿,用" becomes increasingly apparent. The following sentences all show the effect of earlier baihua:

(17) 把鋼鐵造橋的工人，當這時候，還在河岸作工。(黎錦熙，新著國語文法，46頁例。)

(18) 共產黨把馬列主義的理論武裝自己。(同上，208頁，例)

(19) 他忽然把老哥來稱呼我。(同上)

(20) 我們不能把困難的工作教他去做。(語法講話，《中國語文》1955年3月號，29頁，例)

(21) 差不多把性命和日本飛機打賭。(葉聖陶，我們的驕傲)

Sometimes ba actually has the meaning of "使", e.g.:

(22) 把個人與局部的眼前利益服從人民的、公共的、長久的利益。(胡附，文鏢，現代漢語語法探索，131頁，例)

(23) 把自己處在困難地位。(同上)

These ba sentences actually conflict with the rules governing ba sentences as these rules relate to "the putonghua which uses the Peking dialect as its basis". A speaker of the Peking dialect can easily decide whether a particular sentence should take ba, or "拿" or "用", or whether these can be interchanged. Therefore, it is not difficult to find rules to distinguish the usages of these words. From the viewpoint of language change, ba has indeed developed into a preposition whose sole function is to move the object forward. It is used quite differently from "拿,用" and "使". If we tell someone who has not completely mastered Chinese that ba, "拿,用" and "使" can be freely interchanged, it will definitely create confusion. Since the question of regularizing Chinese is now very much before us, we should conform with the

developmental trend and restrict the use of ba within a definite boundary. Thus we will be able not only to avoid obscuring the richness of our language but also to portray more accurately its subtleties.

This is all we will say about ba sentences. The study has not been sufficiently deep and some problems are left not completely resolved. Those cases which must use ba have been very clearly analyzed by the various grammarians. There is no need to repeat them here. There are some other rules regarding ba which will be presented below in conjunction with the discussion of bei sentences.

## 2.0 Bei Sentences

### 2.1 Various approaches.

Among the sentence types which differ from the normal sentence type, other than ba sentences, we also have bei sentences. In bei sentences, the subject is not the actor but the recipient of the action. It is moved to precede the verb by the preposition bei. Among all the prepositions, ba and bei are relatively unusual because the prepositional constructions that they form with their objects do not clearly have the usual kind of modifying relation with the verb. These two types of sentences have a great deal in common, but bei sentences do not occur as frequently as ba sentences. The majority of bei sentences concern humans; there are relatively few which concern things in general. It is difficult to make a similar kind of assessment for ba sentences. Let us first look at the approaches that various grammarians have taken on bei sentences.

Mr. Wang Li calls bei sentences the passive form. He points out that in our ordinary descriptive statements, the active form is used more frequently

than the passive form. He feels that not all active forms can be changed into passive forms. The use of passive forms is much more limited. The event stated by a passive form is frequently unfortunate from the point of view of the subject. The nature of the described event is approximately the same for passive forms and disposal forms because seen from the viewpoint of the actor it is a disposal kind of action, and seen from the viewpoint of the recipient of the action, it is unfortunate. Therefore, most passive forms can be changed to disposal forms. When the passive form is changed to active form, it is also suitable for changing into disposal form. The disposal form and the passive form also can be used simultaneously by embedding the disposal form into the passive form.<sup>22</sup>

Mr. Wang pointed out two points of similarity between passive forms and disposal forms:

- (1) As is the case with ba sentences, bei cannot be followed by a negative.
- (2) In the same way that the disposal form is used only for disposal type of events, the passive form is used only for unfortunate events. (But Mr. Wang also points out that under the impact of foreign language, the passive form is no longer limited to unfortunate events).

Mr. Wang feels that if the actor is not mentioned, bei is frequently not used. One seldom comes across bei sentences where bei is directly followed by a verb, except when bei and the verb are used in an adjectival, e.g., "被侮辱的人".

In addition to passive sentences with bei, Mr. Wang feels there is another type of passive sentences without bei. These sentences are formally identical with subject-verb sentences. But meaning-wise, they are passive. Such passive sentences are used in the following two types of contexts:

- (1) When the actor need not or cannot be identified, e.g.:

五兒嚇得哭哭啼啼。(紅, 六一回)

- (2) When the subject is inanimate; consequently, whether the incident is unfortunate is irrelevant, e.g.:

雲板連接四下。

As for sentences with verbs such as "挨, 受", Mr. Wang considers these to be subject-verb sentences which are similar to passives.

Mr. Zhang Zhi Gong also feels that sentences with "挨, 受, 遭" are "intransitive passive sentences". He further points out that the difference between such sentences and the usual kind of intransitive forms lies precisely in

the fact that the former cannot be changed into passive form by means of *bei* since their actual meaning is already passive.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Zhang calls these passives without *bei* "natural passive sentences" [自然表明的被動句]. There are three types of these:

A. The item expressed by the subject is inanimate or abstract, e.g.:

- (1) 油豆腐也煮得十分好... (魯迅, 在酒樓上)
- (2) 路上浮塵早已颳淨... (魯迅, 一件小事)
- (3) 現在, 藝人的地位已經提高. (老舍)

B. The relation between the subject and verb is passive because the subject, although animate, cannot perform this action in certain contexts, e.g.:

- (4) 在海邊種地的人, 終日吹著海風... (魯迅, 故鄉)
- (5) 吃奶的孩子也抱著來了... (丁玲)

C. The action need not be mentioned but the recipient of the action is stressed. The latter is placed in the position of the subject, e.g.:

- (6) 這事到了現在, 還是時時記起. (魯迅, 一件小事)
- (7) 那事情是萬料不到, 也防不了的. (魯迅)

Mr. Zhang feels that if the transitive verb is preceded by "可以", or "能夠", or followed by "得", the sentence is also passive - a kind of passive, descriptive sentence, e.g.:

- (8) 而且那村口的魁星閣也確乎已經望得見. (魯迅, 離婚)
- (9) 她覺得他是可以同情的. (丁玲, 太陽照在桑乾河上)

Mr. Zhang feels that *bei* is the most frequently used word for expressing passivity. Its main use is to introduce the action. Sometimes, *bei* does not introduce the actor. Rather it accurately expresses the relationship of the passive. This is when *bei* is placed directly before the verb, e.g.:

- (10) 他被選為農會主任了. (丁玲, 太陽照在桑乾河上)
- (11) 縣農會主席老楊同志被分配到第六區來檢查督促 "秋收工作". (趙樹理, 李有才板話)

Mr. Zhang feels that in the spoken language "叫(教)", "讓", or "由" are frequently used in place of *bei*. "給" can also replace *bei*.<sup>24</sup> Or, even "被...給..." or "叫(教)...給..." may be used, e.g.:

- (12) 這句話卻不料就叫金旺他會聽見. (趙樹理, 小二黑結婚)
- (13) 命是自己的, 可是教別人管着; 教些什麼頂混賬的東西管着. (老舍, 馬各馬之祥子)
- (14) 鮮花, 由前進的女藝人自動捐庸犬! (老舍, 方珍珠)

- (15) 有一回,老孫牛也給他掙去 (周立波, 暴風驟雨)  
(16) 他的心像一個綠葉,被個蟲兒用絲給纏起來... (老舍)

In 語法講話, the Grammar Group of the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Academia Sinica pointed out that from the structural point of view, there are two differences between ba sentences and bei sentences:

(1) Ba must take an object, whereas bei may occur without an object, directly followed by a verb.

(2) The verb of ba sentences always takes some other structures, either preceding or after it, whereas, unless the verb is monosyllabic, this is not so with bei sentences.

語法講話 also states that beisentences were originally used only for unfortunate or unhappy incidents, and that the usage has been extended to other situations due to the influence of Western languages.<sup>25</sup>

There are no major differences in the way the above mentioned grammarians treat bei sentences. Only Mr. Hong Xin Heng has expressed some noteworthy comments on what the grammarians call passive sentences without bei. Mr. Hong feels that these sentences are not passives. He divides them into the following six types.<sup>26</sup>

- (1) The verb in the predicate is followed by a negative.

飛機看不見了。  
馬鞭不起呀！  
張全那地不賣了。

- (2) The actor is already in the additive structures (i.e., locative constructions formed from place word groups - author).

他全身都淹在冰冷的水裡。  
泥土就在秧歌队伍的腳下踩平了。

- (3) The verb used in the subject is the same as the main verb which follows.

下料下得對不對, 爆氣送得足不足... 一時也疏忽不得。  
幹活, 只要幹得痛快就行囉！

- (4) Sentences which use "着" to indicate progressive aspect.

一切通往知識的大道都為我們開放着。  
車子在一邊扔着。

Sentences with "了" to indicate completive aspect are basically incapable of becoming passives, even when it is possible for the subject and verb to have



a verb-object relation, e.g.:

他打了好久好久,流了許多血。

(5) The verb is preceded or followed by subjects or objects of certain types:

唾沫子噴了鬼子一臉。

初生兒注射二千到三千單位。

(6) The verb is preceded by additive structures with gender and aspect or numeral-measures, e.g.:

不解開學生們心上的疙瘩,這一課也白上了。

野地也能睡了,地洞也好挖了。

拉條,油條都現了,全要現找。

He says, "The purpose of the sentences is to describe, state, and recall events. Although the verb used can enter into verb-object relationship with the subject, there is no meaning of passivity involved".

## 2.2 Several problems with bei sentences.

Now let us discuss the several problems of bei sentences on the basis of the above-mentioned views on them.

### 2.2.1 Prepositions and auxiliaries which express passivity.

As has been pointed out by the various grammarians, "叫(教)" and "讓" can replace bei. In the spoken language, "叫(教)" and "讓" are more often used to express passivity than bei in the Peking dialect. Their use is also frequently seen in literature, e.g.:

(1) 什麼事讓她知道了,還不跟在旗杆院樓上廣播一樣!

(趙樹理,三里灣)

(2) 可惜他不在村裡了,叫人家廣聚把他攆跑了。(趙樹理,李有才板話)

(3) 放在棚上,不教耗子拉去呢?(老舍,才珍珠)

But we know that bei can occur directly before a verb without introducing an actor, whereas "叫" and "讓" generally do not occur directly before the verb. If the actor need not be mentioned, "人" or "人家" are used for general reference, as in:

(4) 他叫人打得動不了了。

(5) 東西都讓人家搬走了。

In addition, we should notice that when "叫(教)" or "讓" occurs before the noun or pronoun, it is again followed by a verb. Sometimes, the form is telescopic, not passive. (Classified as one of the complex predicates in Hanyu - author), as in:

(6) 這是不讓人活下去了。

(7) 即刻叫我女婿弄了人。叫姑娘親筆寫個字兒。(紅, 一一九回)

Obviously, these two types of sentences are difficult to distinguish. If the subject is inanimate, it would be easier since it cannot actively "叫(教)" or "讓" someone to do something. If the following verb takes an object that is unrelated to the subject as the "人" and "字兒" in (7), or if the verb is intransitive as the "活" in (6), then clearly we have the telescopic form. But if the subject is animate, the object of "讓" or "叫" is also animate, and the subject and verb have a verb-object meaning, then it is very difficult to formally distinguish passive forms from telescopic forms.

(8) 你怎麼讓人打了?(被動式)

(你怎麼就這樣讓人打?(兼語式))

(9) 那天狗叫人摸弄慣了。(被動式)

那只狗現在叫人摸弄了, 以前可不行。(兼語式)

As for "由", I do not agree with Mr. Zhang's view. Although in some sentences, "由" seems to correspond to *bei*, this does not mean that the meaning and use of these two words are the same. Furthermore, there are instances where "由" and "被" are not mutually substitutable. They are different in many ways:

A. "由" frequently has the meaning of assigning a certain task to someone or of indicating that the task is the responsibility of a certain individual. Consequently, it can be used in imperative sentences or sentences which express suggestions. In these cases, *bei* cannot be used, e.g.:

(10) 這些工作由他去完成吧!

(11) 我建議這裡一切由我來負責。

B. The object of "由" is largely a human noun, occasionally a non-human animate noun. But it cannot be inanimate. But *bei* can take an inanimate object, e.g.:

(12) 棉花都被雨淋壞了。

(13) 他的腿被炮彈打斷了。

C. The subject before "由" can be deleted; before *bei* it cannot.

(14) 今天由你來作主席吧。

(15) 星期日我們聚餐來着, 由他作買辦, 由我做菜, 大家吃得很滿意。

"由" and bei frequently give very different feelings to the listener. The two sentences below make this difference quite conspicuous:

(16) 人民的代表應該由人民來選。

(17) 他被人民選為代表了。

As pointed out by Mr. Wang Li in 中國現代語法, we have inherited the passive word "所" from early forms of Chinese. In the contemporary written language, there still are people who add a "所" in front of the verb in bei sentences. This word has no meaning of its own; it merely indicates that the following verb is passive. Generally speaking, the verb in bei sentences cannot occur independently, especially if it is monosyllabic. But with the use of "所", a monosyllabic verb can occur, the sentence takes on the flavor of early forms of Chinese, as illustrated by Mr. Wang's example:

(18) 父母已亡, 或被叔伯兄弟所賣。

In the spoken language, as Mr. Xiao Fu has pointed out, "給" can be inserted between the verb and "叫(教)" or "讓",<sup>27</sup> e.g.:

(19) 你下車就教偵探給堵住了, 怪誰呢? (老舍, 駱駝祥子)

(20) 拿不了匪, 倒叫匪給拿了, 多麼大的笑話! (老舍, 上任)

(21) 我沒有來得及喝碗麵湯, 就讓我們二大爺給提溜來了。  
(李健吾, 雲彩霞)

"給" here is an auxiliary verb. The verb that follows it, whether monosyllabic or disyllabic, cannot occur independently nor can it occur with preposed structures alone; rather, it must have "了", "着" or other postposed structures.

## 2.2 Bei sentences as compared with ba sentences.

Although bei sentences and ba sentences have different sentence types (the object of ba is the actee of the verb whereas the object of bei is the actor of the verb), there are many similarities between them:

A. Neither bei nor ba can be followed by negatives. The negatives have to be placed before these words. The situation with ba has been discussed. The situation with bei is similar, e.g.:

(1) 他沒有被大家選做勞動模範。

The exception to this rule for ba is similarly an exception for bei. If it is an idiom, then it can follow bei, as in:

(2) 便怕白鬧一場, 反被寶蟾瞧不起。(紅, 九一回)

(3) 他的建議在會上被大家否決了。

B. The verb must have preposed or postposed structures. The verb in ba sentences cannot occur alone. It is either preceded by an adverbial, or followed by an object, complement, or auxiliary, e.g.:

(4) 我要不把姐姐當親姐姐待... (紅, 三七回)

(5) 便將世上所有的東西擺了無數。 (又, 二回)

(6) 讓我把幾內的病症說一說。 (又, 一〇回)

(7) 襲人便把婚約的話悄悄說了。 (又, 三四回)

Only very few disyllabic verbs, which themselves contain the meaning of the result of disposal, can independently occur after ba, e.g.:

(8) 我們必須把這個問題解決。

(9) 他們以為這樣一來就可以把我們消滅。

This rule is generally applicable to bei sentences. However, unlike ba sentences where the disyllabic verbs are restricted to a very small number, most disyllabic verbs can occur independently (when not preceded by the auxiliary "給"), e.g.:

(10) 寶玉從來未經過這樣被人棄厭。 (紅, 三六回)

(11) 你必須把話說清楚, 不然就很容易被他們誤解。

(12) 你這樣作, 總免不了要被大家批評。

(13) 能普遍的被大眾接受, 欣賞它還不就成為了大家文藝麼?

But monosyllabic verbs definitely require preposed or postposed structures.

(14) 不上一年, 便被上司參了一本。 (紅, 二回)

(15) 正欲下拜, 早被外祖母抱住。 (又, 三四)

(16) 誰知才進門, 便被黛玉推出來了。 (又, 二回)

(17) 只有旗桿院這兩個院子... 沒被他們燒過。 (趙樹理, 三里灣)

(18) 今天就被人家活活生捉住殺了。 (趙樹理, 李家庄的變遷)

(19) 小二黑掙扎了一會, 無奈沒有他們人多, 終於被他們門七手八腳打了一頓捆起來了。 (趙樹理, 小二黑結婚)

(20) 我被他這麼突然一問, 當時也怔住了。

(21) 我被這些人三番五次地罵, 忍不住要發火。

As is the case with ba, verbs which take postposed structures are more numerous than those which take preposed structures. Furthermore, in both ba and bei

sentences, if the verb has preposed structure but no postposed structure, then it usually occurs in a dependent clause, as in (20) and (21). Although there are a few disyllabic verbs which can occur independently in ba sentences and many which can occur in bei sentences, the postposed structure is more common in both. Sometimes it must occur; otherwise the sentence seems unfinished, e.g.:

(22) 昨天他被大家批評(了-頓)

(23) 他的建議被我們接受(了).

All preposed and postposed structures in ba sentences can serve the corresponding functions in bei sentences. Previously, when we were discussing the various approaches to ba sentences, we have presented Mr. Lü Shu Xiang's detailed analysis of the preposed and postposed structures of the verb. A rather unusual feature there is that the verb can be followed by another object. In ba sentences, the object of ba is generally the semantic object of the following verb. Therefore, the verb is usually not followed by another object. The subject in bei sentences is usually the semantic object of the following verb. Therefore, the verb is also not usually followed by another object. But both types of sentences can have another object. According to the analysis of Mr. Lü, there are 4 situations, (see pp.65-6 of this book) in which the verb would take another object and all four are applicable to bei sentences.

(a) The verb and the object form an idiom:

(24) 當時就被一個士兵打了兩個耳光。(陳登科, 活人塘)

(25) 好像又被他們打了折扣。(葉聖陶, 多收了三五斗)

(b) The object is a result object.

(26) 他的經歷被人寫成了一本小說。

(c) The person or thing expressed by the object is possessed by the person or thing expressed by the subject. (In ba sentences, it would be ba's object.)

(27) 你給地主害死命, 我給地主害死娘。(劉白羽, 無敵三勇士)

(28) 活到我這個歲數, 還教人給打斷腿?(師院, 大馬戲團)

(d) The subject (in ba sentences it would be ba's object) has the meaning of a place complement.

(29) 下半截[板門]給走過的學堂裡的孩子們用白粉畫了些不像人文不像蟲的東西。(葉聖陶 外國旗)

The sentences in (c) and (d) can also assume the following forms:

(30) 你的命給地主害死, 我的娘給地主害死。

(31) 在下半截[板門]上, ... 孩子們用白粉畫了些...東西。

But if we compare the pairs of forms, we can see the difference in meaning:

(27) refers to "你" and "我" who underwent the unfortunate event, whereas (30) refers to unfortunate events borne by "你的爹" and "我的媽". (29) refers to the experience of the "下半截板門" whereas (31) refers to the action of "孩子們". Therefore, the subject in bei sentences expresses the recipient of the action stated by the speaker. In this respect, ba sentences behave similarly: The person or thing expressed by ba's object is the target of the disposal, e.g., "把一丈青拴了雙手" describes how "一丈青" is disposed of, whereas "把一丈青的雙手拴了" describes how "雙手" is disposed of.

C. The verb can be preceded by the auxiliary "給". "給" can be added in front of the verb in both ba and bei sentences purely for emphasis; it has no other meaning, e.g.:

(32) 你把孩子的前程給耽誤了。(馬賓基, 王媽媽)

(33) 官僚資本可把我們給剝削苦了。(馬賓基, 張保洛的回憶)

Mr. Wang Li said that if the verb in the predicate of ba sentences expresses harm, it is preceded by "給".<sup>28</sup> In the short novel by Luo Bing Ji, 張保洛的回憶, there are altogether 20 ba sentences. Among them, there are four sentences whose verb is preceded by "給". In addition to (33) above, the other 3 sentences are:

(34) 二十年被剝削的生活, 把我的性子給變了。

(35) 把他的腿給折下來。

(36) 把他給忘了。

The 變 of (34) of course does not necessarily mean change for the worse.

But here the reference is to a worker who in appearance has become more sly but in whose heart there is a hidden pain. Consequently, the verbs in all four of these sentences all express harm. In the remaining 16 sentences without bei, there are two whose verbs express harm:

(37) 四個警察把我圍在當中

(38) 我們那天非把他的汽車砸壞了不解恨。

It would seem that the above sentences are adequate to indicate that the verb in the predicate of ba sentences can indicate harm or unfortunate happenings without "給" as well. But with "給", the reference is definitely to harm. As for bei sentences, they themselves usually express a certain type of unfortunate happening. We will come back to this later.

D. The verb is intransitive in ba sentences and bei sentences. We have already mentioned that the verb in ba sentences is sometimes intransitive. This type of sentences exemplify the introductory use of ba sentences. The situation is similar with bei sentences. In these sentences, the subject is not the direct recipient of the action; it is only influenced by the action, e.g.:

(39) 王夫人被薛姨媽一番言語說得極有理，心想... (紅樓夢，二〇回)

(40) 李成功被他一說，倒愣住了。(陳登科，活人塘)

The "說" in (40) is not "說得成功"; rather it is that when "李成功" heard these words, he did not know what to do. Sometimes it may even be that there is no following verb.

E. The determinate nature of the subject in bei sentences. We have discussed the determinate nature of the object of ba in ba sentences. Like the object of ba sentences, there are many more subjects which have specific reference in bei sentences than those with general reference. Here are some examples with general reference.

(41) 原來剝削農民的地主和富農正在被改造為自食其力的新人  
(劉少奇，政治報告)

(42) 以前工人被資本家剝削得無法生活下去。

Although there are cases like the above, if the subject of bei sentences does not take any adjectivals it is usually determinate, as is the case with the object of ba sentences, e.g.:

(43) 書叫人拿走了。

(44) 房子被人家霸佔了。

It is even less likely that the subject of a bei sentence expresses something that does not exist. There is another feature which it shares with the object of ba. If the subject of a bei sentence is preceded only by a numerical-measure, then it has a specific reference rather than a general one.

(45) 剛才啪的一聲，是一個玻璃杯被我砸了。

(46) 在這次戰亂中，兩個同志犧牲了，三個同志被打傷了。

F. There are many transitive verbs which cannot be used in bei sentences. Just as there are many non-disposal types of transitive verbs which cannot be used in ba sentences, some transitive verbs also cannot be used in bei sentences. Many verbs cannot be used in either type of sentences, such as "有，在，當(教員)，得(病)，起(作用)，像，屬於，接近，離開，依靠"，etc. Some verbs can be used in bei sentences but not in ba sentences such as "知道，

看見,聽見,碰到,信任,擁護", etc. There do not seem to be any verbs which can occur in ba sentences but cannot occur in bei sentences. Since not all verbs can occur in ba sentences, not all sentences of the form subject-verb can be changed into ba sentences. Similarly, not all such sentences can be changed into bei sentences.

Besides the six points of similarity between ba and bei sentences, there are two points of dissimilarity.

A. Bei can occur directly before the verb, whereas ba cannot, e.g.:

- (1) 方知妙玉被劫,不知去向。(紅,一-三回)
- (2) 閻家山就被稱為"模範村"了。(趙樹理,李有才板話)
- (3) 近百年來騎在中國人民頭上的外國帝國主義勢力已經被趕走了。(劉少奇,政治報告)

Bei plus a verb can serve as an adjectival to modify nouns. It can also combine with "的" to form "的" constructions, e.g.:

- (4) 老爺可知這被賣的丫頭是誰?(紅,四回)
- (5) 這個被打死的乃是一個小狼爺之子。(紅,四回)

When bei occurs directly before the verb, it can no longer be considered as a preposition. It may be considered as an auxiliary to show that the following verb is passive.

B. Ba sentences can be used as imperatives whereas bei sentences cannot. Imperative sentences (or sentences which express suggestions) are very strongly active and are not compatible with passives. Bei is not the only one that cannot occur in imperatives. Other passive verbs such as "挨,遭,受" which take the form of subject-verb are also very rarely used in imperative sentences. The word "吃" can be used in imperatives, and it is formally and semantically similar to bei, e.g.:

- (6) 你這廝原來也恁得歹,且吃我一刀!(水滸,十四)

This word has a passive flavor even in contemporary Chinese, e.g.:

- (7) 糊塗塗.. 又吃不住攢 (趙樹理,三里灣)

### 2.3 Sentences which use both ba and bei.

Although ba sentences and bei sentences have opposite properties, they do occur jointly in some sentences. Such sentences are invariably passive, with bei occurring before ba in the sentence. In general, the item expressed by the object of ba is possessed by the subject of the sentence, e.g.:



- (1) 貴玉... 被襲人將手推開。(紅, 二一回)
- (2) [薛蟠]竟被人生生的把個罪名坐定。(又, 三四回)
- (3) 司棋被眾人一頓好言語方將氣力得漸平了。(又, 六一回)
- (4) 黃大少爺碰見你, 他要不散你把血吸光, 算我認錯人啦。  
(師陀, 大馬戲園)

Sometimes, ba's object can be considered to have a double reference. The person or thing that it expresses is the same as that expressed by the subject;

- (5) 可惜他不在村裡了, 叫人家廣聚把他攆跑了! (趙樹理, 李有才板話)

Such sentences do not need to take ba. If ba as well as its object were removed, neither the meaning nor the construction of the sentence would be much affected.

#### 2.4 Bei sentences expressing unhappy or unfortunate events.

Before the May 4 movement, most bei sentences were indeed used to express unhappy or unfortunate events. The unhappiness or unfortunateness is directed at the subject, e.g.:

- (1) 南邊帶來的一個家人, 也被殺死在後院裡。(吳趼人, 恨海, 8頁)
- (2) 寶馬亭被他追問不過, 只得直說了。(又, 10頁)

It can also be directed at the speaker or some other related person:

- (3) 我看得這一對女孩子實在好, 恐怕被人先說了去。(又, 1頁)
- (4) [字帖兒]貼不上幾天, 便被人家的招帖蓋住了, 有何用處?  
(又, 6頁)

The "被人說去" to be a daughter-in-law in (3) is not something unhappy with respect to "這一對女孩子". From the point of view of the speaker, however, it is an unhappy thing to be unable to get the daughter-in-law. The "被人家的招帖蓋住" in (4) cannot be interpreted as being happy or unhappy with respect to the inanimate "字帖兒". But to the person who is putting up posters to look for someone, this is surely unhappy. Among the thirty some bei sentences in the novel 恨海 by far the majority express unhappiness toward the subject. A minority express unhappiness toward the speaker or related person. Only one sentence relates a happy incident:

- (5) 便覺得身體忽然輕如敗葉, 被風吹起, 飄飄蕩蕩的, 好不快活。(53頁)

But sometimes the expressed feeling is not unhappiness. Rather it is that

the actee (subject), due to the influence of a certain incident, is not able to proceed with some plan, e.g.:

- (1) 黛玉知是外祖母了，正欲下拜，早被外祖母抱住，攬入懷中，  
“心肝兒肉”叫着大哭起來。(紅，三回)
- (2) 林之孝家的頭裡聽了紫鵲的話，未免不受用，被李執這一番話，  
卻也沒有說的了。(紅，九七回)
- (3) 王夫人被薛姨媽一番言語說得極有理，想了一回，也覺解了  
好些。(紅，一〇回)

In (1), when 黛玉 was embraced by 祖母, this could not be said to be something unhappy. But 黛玉 had originally intended to kneel down and was now prevented from it. In (2) when 李執's wife heard what 李執 had to say, she actually felt slightly better (more 受用) than before. But now as a result she could not say anything. In (3), Mrs. Wang felt better after what 薛姨媽 had said, and now she was no longer as worried as before.

One exception found in 紅樓夢 is as follows:

- (4) 我常說還要作這個夢再不能的，不料今日被我找着了。(一一六回)

This is what 寶玉 said when he dreamed of being in the ultra-void a second time. There is no happiness or unhappiness as far as the subject "dream" is concerned. On the other hand, it is a very happy thing for "我(寶玉)".

We can additionally show that some things which are neutral with respect to happiness become definitely unhappy after 被 is introduced, e.g.:

- (5) 這拐子又悄悄的賣與了薛家，被我們知道了。(紅，四回)
- (6) 那知剛才所說的話早被跟邢夫人的丫頭聽見。(紅，一七回)

In (5), as far as the kidnapper is concerned, to have people know about this is precisely what he does not wish to happen. In (6), clearly 邢夫人 does not wish her conversation regarding betrothing 巧姐兒 to be overheard by others. In our daily lives, whatever is found out, overheard, or "over-seen" is usually something we do not want others to know, hear, or see.

Since the unhappy result that 被 sentences express can be directed toward either the subject or the speaker, there will necessarily arise situations of contradiction. In other words, whatever is unhappy for the subject may be happy for the speaker, or, vice versa. For instance, in the following sentence, "被... 侵佔" is unhappy for the Chinese people but happy for the enemy, while "被趕走" is happy for us but unhappy for the enemy:

- (7) 除台灣還被美國侵略者侵占以外,近百年來騎在中國人民頭上的外國帝國主義勢力已經被趕走了 (劉少奇,政治報告)

Since the unhappiness expressed by the bei sentences can be directed toward the subject as well as toward the speaker, it is not concerned with the standpoint of the speaker.

Under the impact of other languages, bei sentences which do not express unhappy events are becoming more numerous.

- (8) 最後他們的意見被蔣介石採納了。(毛澤東)  
(9) 同志們不斷地被他吸引到身邊。(宋之的,草地頌歌)  
(10) 閻家山就被稱為"模範村"了。(趙樹理,李有才板話)

But gradually there are also more and more situations in which the usage of bei sentence is corrupted. For example, we have come across in newspapers instances where "我們被告訴..." substitute for "我們聽說...". This is contrary to the habits of the language. Although the scope of bei's usage has been expanded, let us not haphazardly use bei sentences unless we wish to emphasize passiveness. It is much more appropriate to say "當選" or "得獎" rather than "被選" or "被獎".

## 2.5 Passive sentences which do not use bei.

In Chinese, there are many more sentences with the subject as the actee which do not use bei than those which do use bei. As Mr. Hong Xing Heng correctly pointed out, some of these sentences are not passives. But there are some which can be considered as passives. I feel that whether or not these sentences are passives should be decided on the basis of whether the predicate is stative or descriptive. And whether or not a predicate is stative can be determined by the construction of the sentence. The following types of verbal constructions can be considered as stative:

### A. Single verbs or verb with auxiliary:

- (1) 我們的仗打不打? (劉白羽,火光在前)  
(2) 工人階級... 它的隊伍擴大了。(劉少奇,政治報告)  
(3) 這人任務,已經在一九四九年實現了。(又)  
(4) 電滾子,風窩子... 如今也都一起到處堆放着。(周波,鐵水奔流)

B. The verb is followed by a simple complement without "得" or by a prepositional construction:

- (5) 房子收拾妥當以後... (趙樹理, 三里灣)  
 (6) 他這外號起過兩回。(又)  
 (7) 火把高高舉起來了。(劉白羽, 火光在前)  
 (8) 仗快打完了。(又)  
 (9) 你的爸爸... 釘死在這裡。(又)  
 (10) 但是現在一個現實問題擺在面前。(又)  
 (11) ...靈芝和玉生訂婚的消息已經傳到他耳朵裡。(趙樹理, 三里灣)

C. The verb has another object:

- (12) 眼看生米作成熟飯就無可奈何了。(又)  
 (13) 社裡的分配辦法搞出頭緒來了。(又)

D. Meaningwise, the subject is the distant object or near object of the verb:

- (14) 他家的房子甚麼時候借給幹部住過。(又)  
 (15) 打勝了, 弟兄們每人賞一兩土!(矛盾, 小巫)

These can all be considered passives. They are not different from the passives with *bei*. Some of them can even occur with *bei*, such as (6), (7), (9). The reason for them not to take *bei*, as pointed out by Mr. Zhang Zhi Gong, is that the passive meaning is very obvious and these sentences do not need *bei* to express it. But if the predicate is descriptive, then the sentence cannot be considered passive. The following examples are considered descriptive:

A. The verb is preceded by an additional verb.

- (16) 渠可以開, 但說服工作一定還得作。(趙樹理, 三里灣)  
 (17) 那裡的門也不用看。(趙樹理, 李家庄的變遷)

B. There is a "得" or "不", between the predicate and the complement.

- (18) 街上的哪裡聽的見。(紅, 四〇四)  
 (19) 老百姓的話都聽不懂。(劉白羽, 火光在前)  
 (20) 課又上不成了。(趙樹理, 三里灣)  
 (21) ...玉梅的課本封面上的名字寫得歪歪斜斜的。(又)  
 (22) ...讓大家都看見你做得整齊不整齊。(又)  
 (23) 不過他的話說得很圓滑。(又)  
 (24) 活兒做得叫人痛快。(又)  
 (25) 恐怕是事情已經鬧得放不下了。(又)

C. The verb is preceded by adjectives such as "好", "難".

- (26) 這件事真難辦。

(27) 瑞雲的西房要是不好騰... (趙樹理, 三里灣)

(28) 就是這南方的生活不好過。(劉白羽, 火光在前)

(29) 這問題容易解決。

These sentences are strongly descriptive, and consequently are only weakly passive - to the extent that sometimes the verb can be deleted without affecting the meaning of the sentence too much. For example, (22) can be changed to "... 活兒整齊不整齊", and (23) can be changed to "不過他的話很圓滑". Some of the passive verbs which can take additional verbs have already become fixed adjectives, e.g., "可憐, 可愛, 可恨". Passive verbs preceded by words like "好", "難" also behave like a single word, e.g., "好看, 好聽, 難吃". Of course, there are probably some sentences for which it is difficult to decide whether they are stative or descriptive. For these, we need to make a deeper study.

There is another kind of passive sentence which does not use bei that merits attention. These sentences have the form "是...的". Whenever we wish to emphasize how, when, or where a thing is done, etc., we do not use bei, but use "是...的", e.g.:

(30) 況且這話是告訴得二奶奶的嗎? (紅, 九七回)

(31) 哪個坟裡的骨頭是罵死的? (趙樹理, 三里灣)

(32) 這本書是去年寫的。

If we wish to express who performed the action, then the verb is active, but the construction is the same:

(33) 這些人都是我殺的。(趙樹理, 李家莊的變遷)

These sentences have an explanatory flavor. Even if the verb is passive, the sentence is only weakly passive.

## 2.6 The comparison of bei with "ai(挨)" "zao(遭)" "shou(受)"

In an earlier stage of the language, bei could occasionally function as a verb, e.g.:

(1) 元帝廟裡被了盜, 便叫土地去查訪。(紅, 一一七回)

But in the contemporary language, it is used only as a preposition or auxiliary. This is not so with "挨, 遭" and "受". They are verbs. These three verbs all use the active verb form to express passive meaning. Generally speaking, bei usually introduces the actor, whereas these three words usually express the incident rather than the actor. These three terms are not completely similar grammatically. Here we discuss them separately.

A. "受". The object of "受" can be a noun, adjective, or verb. In the following, the object is a noun.

(1) 他受了一輩子的罪。

(2) 再也不受冤枉氣。(趙樹理, 李有才板話)

The object is a verb.

(3) 大家眼睜自己惹不起的厲害人受了碰。(又)

(4) 我是受不得這樣折磨的。(紅, 一一一回)

(5) 她是不受人抬舉的。

The object is an adjective.

(6) 受了一輩子窮。(趙樹理, 李有才板話)

(7) 叫我受了累。(趙樹理, 三里灣)

(8) 受了一切的苦...(劉白羽, 火光在前)

The actor sometimes can occur as an adjectival.

(9) 有翼受了靈芝一頓碰。(趙樹理, 三里灣)

(10) 他受了胡殿文的好多 筋骨氣。(國立波, 戲水奔流)

(11) 省得受孫家那混賬行子的氣。(紅, 八一回)

In addition to expressing unhappy events, "受" can also be used to express happy events, e.g.:

(12) 總要受得富貴, 耐得貧賤才好呢。(紅, 一〇八回)

(13) 咱們兩個人都是不受青年們歡迎的人物。(趙樹理, 三里灣)

B. "挨". Its object can be a noun, verb or adjective. In the following, the objects are nouns.

(14) 只會縮着脖子挨刀。(趙樹理, 李家莊的變遷)

(15) ...挨多麼粗的鞭子。(又)

(16) 有翼聽了這話好像挨了一顆炸彈。(趙樹理, 三里灣)

(17) 他口上挨過一粒子彈打碎了牙床。(劉白羽, 火光在前)

The noun-object of "挨" seems to be different from the noun-object of "受".

Generally, "受"'s objects are abstract, whereas "挨"'s noun-objects are generally concrete and, strictly speaking, they are actors. The action performed is either implicit or is expressed with the telescopic form, as in (17). In the following, the objects are verbs.

(18) 挨了一切的磨難。(劉白羽, 火光在前)

(19) 不知挨了多少打。(陳登科, 漁人塘)

(20) 孫在壽怕挨鬧爭。(又)

There are not many which have adjectives as objects, such as "挨磨", "挨冷",

etc.

C. "遭". It is used less frequently than "挨" and "受". The object is usually a relatively serious, unfortunate thing, such as "遭殃, 遭劫, 遭水灾". "遭" can also be combined with "受" to form "遭受". It is also used on unhappy things.

Generally speaking, these three words each has its own objects which are not mutually substitutable. But there are some words which are not restricted in this way such as "受罪" and "遭罪", "挨饿" and "受饿". As to why certain words can serve as the object of only one but not another word, and whether this is due to habit or some other reason, these are problems which need further study.

Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Wang Li, 中國現代語法 v. 1 p. 161, 中華書局 1954.
- <sup>2</sup>Wang Li, 中國現代語法 v. 1 p. 165, 中華書局, 1954.
- <sup>3</sup>Ibid p. 168.
- <sup>4</sup>Wang Li, 中國語法理論 v. 1 p. 170, 中華書局, 1954.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>6</sup>Wang Li, 中國語法理論, v. 1 p. 171, 中華書局, 1954.
- <sup>7</sup>Li Shu Xiang, 漢語語法論文集 p. 127, 科學出版社, 1955.
- <sup>8</sup>Li Shu Xiang, 漢語語法論文集 p. 128, 科學出版社, 1955.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid P. 130.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid p. 131.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid pp. 132 - 143.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid p. 144.
- <sup>13</sup>Zhang Zhi Gong, 漢語語法常識 pp. 84 - 86, 新知識出版社, 1956.
- <sup>14</sup>Hu Fu and Wen Lian, 現代漢語語法探索 p. 124, 新知識出版社, 1956.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid p. 129.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid p. 126.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid p. 129.
- <sup>18</sup>Messrs. Hu and Wen feel that the reason why we cannot say "我把樓上" is because "it is very difficult to add complements or additive structures to this monosyllabic verb", *ibid*, p. 131.
- <sup>19</sup>As in example (10), with respect to "我", "一本書" can only exist through the action of "買". Therefore "一本書" originally is non-existent with respect to "我". The term "存在" as used below should be understood in this broad sense.
- <sup>20</sup>If the ba is deleted in (10), (11), and (14), the position of the adverb will be changed but this will not affect the order of the predicate and object.
- <sup>21</sup>In 脂硯齋重評石頭記, this sentence is "人家才拿你當個正經人".
- <sup>22</sup>The approach of Mr. Wang Li as it is introduced here may be seen from his 中國現代語法, v. 1, pp. 172 - 181, 中華書局, 1954.



<sup>23</sup> The approach of Mr. Zhang Zhi Gong as it is introduced here may be seen from his 漢語語法常識, pp. 87 - 93, 新知識出版社, 1956.

<sup>24</sup> In the Peking dialect, " " cannot replace bei (it immediately precedes the verb for emphasis). But in literature, it can be used this way, as in (15).

<sup>25</sup> See 中國語文 pp. 29 - 30, March 1953.

<sup>26</sup> Hong Zin Heng, "漢語語法問題研究" pp. 24 - 27, 新知識出版社, 1956.

<sup>27</sup> Xiao Fu, "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Passive Voice", see 語文學習, March, 1952, pp. 42 - 45.

<sup>28</sup> Li, 中國現代語法 v. 1 p. 165.